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PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE
OF THE
EUROPEANS
IN THE
EAST AND WEST INDIES

Translated from the French of the
A B B É R A Y N A L,
By J. JUSTAMOND, M.

T H E T H I R D E D I T I O N:
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VOLUME THE THIRD.

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C O N T E N T S

OF THE
NAWAB SALAR JUNG BAHADUR.

THIRD VOLUME.

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A
PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE
OF THE
E U R O P E A N S
IN THE
E A S T A N D W E S T I N D I E S.

B O O K V I I I .

*Conquest of Chili and Paraguay by the Spaniards.
Principles on which Spain regulates her colonies.*

THE country known by the name of Chili, is bounded on the east by immense deserts, that reach as far as Paraguay. To the west, it extends along the South Sea, from the frontiers of Peru to the straits of Magellan. The Incas had prevailed upon great part of the inhabitants of that vast region to submit to their wise laws, and intended to subdue the whole, had they not met with insuperable difficulties,

BOOK
VIII.

By what
means the
Spaniards
made
themselves
masters of
Chili.

THIS important project was resumed by the Spaniards, as soon as they had conquered the principal

BOOK pal provinces of Peru. In the beginning of 1535.

VIII. Almagro set out from Cusco, and passed the Cordeleras; and though he had lost a great part of the soldiers who attended him in his expedition, he was received with the greatest marks of submission by the nations that had been formerly under the dominion of the empire that had just been subverted. The terror of his arms would, probably, have procured him greater advantages, had not some concerns of a private nature brought him back to the center of the empire, where he ended his days in an unfortunate manner.

THE Spaniards appeared again in Chili in 1541. Baldivia, their leader, entered it without the least opposition. The inhabitants were gathering in their crops; but as soon as harvest was over, they took up arms, and never laid them down for ten years. Some districts, indeed, discouraged by the continual losses they sustained, at length submitted, but the rest resolutely fought for their liberty, though they were generally defeated.

AN Indian captain, whose age and infirmities confined him to his hut, was continually told of these misfortunes. The grief of seeing his people always beaten by a handful of strangers, inspired him with courage. He formed thirteen companies of a thousand men each, which he led against the enemy. They marched one after another, and he ordered that if the first company were routed, it should not fall back upon the next, but rally and be supported by it. This order, which was

strictly

strictly obeyed, disconcerted the Spaniards. They ~~BOOK~~ forced through all the companies one after another, without gaining any advantage. As both the men and horses wanted rest, Baldivia retreated towards a defile, where he judged he could easily defend himself; but the Indians did not allow him time sufficient to secure his retreat thither. Their rear marched through bye-ways and took possession of the defile, while their vanguard followed him with so much precaution, that he was surrounded and massacred, together with his hundred and fifty men. It is said that the savages poured melted gold down his throat, saying, *glut thyself with that metal thou art so fond of.*

THEY availed themselves of this victory, to burn and destroy many of the European settlements, which would all have shared the same fate, had they not been timely assisted by some considerable reinforcements from Peru, which enabled them to defend their best fortified posts. They extended themselves a little after this, but never acquired the smallest portion of additional territory without fighting for it. Of all the countries in America which the Spaniards have attempted to subdue, this is the one in which they have always met with, and still find the greatest resistance.

THEIR most irreconcileable enemies are the inhabitants of Arauco and Tucapel, those to the south of the river Bobio, or who extend towards the Cordeleras. Their manners, which bear a greater resemblance to those of the

BOOK savages of North America, than to those of the
VIII. Peruvians their neighbours, render them consequently more formidable. When they go to war, they carry nothing with them, and want neither tents, nor baggage. The same trees from which they gather their food, supply them with lances and darts. As they are sure of finding in one place what they had in another, they willingly resign any country which they are unable to defend. All places are equally indifferent to them. Their troops being free from all incumbrance of provisions and ammunition, march with surprising agility. They expose their lives like men who set little value on them; and if they lose the field of battle, they are not at a loss for magazines and encampments wherever there is ground covered with fruits. They sometimes invite their neighbours to join them to attack the common enemy, and this they call throwing the arrow, because this call flies as swiftly and silently as an arrow from one habitation to another. Very frequently a drunken fellow wantonly calls to arms; the alarm is instantly spread, a chief is chosen, and war is determined. A certain night is immediately fixed upon, in the dead of which, the time they always chuse for the commencement of hostilities, they fall upon the next village where there are Spaniards, and from thence proceed to others. They murder all the inhabitants, except the white women, whom they always carry off. This is the true origin of the many

many white and fair Indians that are to be met ~~BOOK~~
with.

VIII.

BEFORE the enemy has time to collect his forces, they all unite in one body. Their army, though more formidable from their numbers than from their discipline, is not afraid of attacking the posts that are most strongly fortified. This fury often succeeds, because they are so constantly supplied with reinforcements, that they are not sensible of their losses. If these are so considerable as to oblige them to desist, they retire to the distance of a few leagues, and five or six days after, fall upon some other place. These barbarians never think they are beaten, unless they are surrounded. If they can take possession of a place difficult of access, they think they are conquerors. The head of one Spaniard, which they carry off in triumph, comforts them for the death of a hundred Indians. Such a people must necessarily conquer.

THE country is of such considerable extent, that when they find themselves in danger from the enemy, they forsake their possessions, and remove into some impenetrable forest. Recruited by other Indians, they soon return into the parts they had before inhabited ; and this alternate succession of flight and resistance, of boldness and fear, is the circumstance that renders them unconquerable.

WAR is to them a kind of amusement. As it is neither expensive nor inconvenient to them, they have nothing to apprehend from its continuance ; and it is a constant rule with them never

BOOK to sue for peace. The pride of Spain must always condescend to make the first overtures.

When these are favourably received, a conference is held. The governor of Chili and the Indian general, attended by the most distinguished captains on both sides, settle the terms of accommodation, at a convivial meeting. The Spaniards are always obliged to purchase peace by some presents, and after a variety of fruitless attempts, they have been forced to give up all thoughts of extending their conquests, and reduced to cover their frontiers by erecting forts at proper distances. These precautions are taken to prevent the Indians who have submitted, from joining the independent savages, and likewise to repel the intrusions of the latter into the colonies.

P enitent
state of the
Spaniards
at Chili. THESE colonies are dispersed on the borders of the South Sea; they are parted from Peru by a desert that measures eighty leagues, and bounded by the island of Chiloe, at the extremity next the straits of Magellan. On that great length of coast, there are no settlements except those of Baldivia, Conception island, Valparaiso and Coquimbo or La Serena, which are all sea-ports. In the inland country is St. Jago, the capital of the colony. There is no culture nor habitation at any distance from these towns. The buildings are all very low, made of unburnt brick, and mostly thatched. This practice is observed, on account of the frequent earthquakes, and is properly adapted

adapted to the nature of the climate, as well as BOOK
the indolence of the inhabitants.

VIII.

THEY are robust and well-shaped men, but few in number. In all that large settlement, there are not 20,000 white men, and not more than 60,000 negroes or Indians, able to bear arms. The military establishment amounted formerly to 2000 men; but the maintaining of them was found too expensive, and they were reduced to 500 at the beginning of the century. This reduction has made no alteration in the tranquillity of the colony, because these Indians pay no poll-tax, and are treated with more humanity than in the other conquered provinces. The bravery which they had exerted in the defence of their liberty, made them obtain more favourable terms when they surrendered; and the capitulation has never been broken, for fear they should join with the independent nations in the neighbourhood.

NAWAB SALAR JI, NO BAHADUR

IF Chili is uninhabited, it is not owing to the climate, which is one of the most wholesome in the world. The vicinity of the Cordeleras gives it such a delightful temperature, as could not otherwise be expected in that latitude. There is not a more pleasant province in all the mother country.

THE richness of its gold mines has been too much extolled. Their united produce never exceeds five millions of livres * a year. The gold was formerly brought over in bullion; but ever since the

B 4

year

* \$18,750L.

BOOK year 1749, it is coined in the mint set up at St. VIII. Jago. The excellent copper mines of Coquimbo supply the whole kingdom of Peru.

A MORE certain source of wealth, though less pleasing to the possessors, is the prodigious fertility of the soil. All the European fruits have improved in that happy climate. The wine would be excellent, if nature were assisted by art. The corn harvest is reckoned a bad one, when it does not yield a hundred fold.

With all these advantages, Chili has no direct intercourse with the mother country. Their whole trade is confined to Peru, Paraguay, and the savages on their own frontiers.

THE inhabitants of Chili sell their most ordinary and less valuable commodities to these savages for oxen, horses, and their own children, whom they are ready to part with for the most trifling things.

THOUGH they are passionately fond of such baubles when exposed to their view, they never think of them when they are removed from their sight; nor will they come out of their woods and deserts to procure them; so that the Spaniards are under a necessity of carrying these trifles to them. A Spaniard who intends to undertake this trade, first applies to the heads of families, in whom alone resides all public authority. When he has obtained leave to sell, he goes through all the villages, and distributes his goods indiscriminately among all who ask for them. When they are all dif-

disposed of, he gives notice of his departure, and ~~book~~ every one who has purchased any thing of him, VIII. brings, without delay, to the village where he first made his appearance, the goods agreed for between them. There has never been any instance of dishonesty in this traffic. The merchant is allowed an escort to assist him in conducting the cattle and slaves he has received in payment, to the frontiers of the country.

WINE and spirituous liquors were sold till the year 1724 to these people, who, like most other savages, are excessively fond of them. When they were intoxicated they used to take up arms, massacre all the Spaniards they met with, and suddenly attack the forts, and ravage the country near their dwellings. These outrages were so often repeated, that it was found necessary strictly to forbid this dangerous trade. The good effects of the prohibition are daily felt. The commotions of these people are less frequent and less dangerous, and their peaceable behaviour has brought on a visible increase of intercourse with them; but it is not likely it should ever be so great as that with Peru.

CHILI supplies Peru with great plenty of hides, dried fruit, copper, salt meat, horses, hemp, lard, wheat and gold. In exchange for these articles, Peru sends tobacco, sugar, cocoa, earthen ware, woollen cloth, linen, hats made at Quito, and every article of luxury that is brought from Europe. The ships sent from Callao on this traffic
were

BOOK were formerly bound for Conception Bay, but VIII. now come to Valparaiso. The voyage was at first so tedious, that a whole year was necessary to complete it. The sailors never ventured to lose sight of land, and followed all the windings of the coast. An European pilot, who had observed the winds, performed that navigation in one month. They considered him as a magician, and he was taken up by order of the inquisition, whose ignorance becomes an object of ridicule, when its cruelty does not excite our abhorrence. The journal he produced was his vindication ; and it plainly appeared that to perform the same voyage, it was only necessary to keep clear of the coasts. His method was, therefore, universally adopted.

THE colony of Chili acts upon a very different plan in its transactions with that of Paraguay. The intercourse between the two colonies is not carried on by sea ; as it would then be necessary either to pass the streights of Magellan or to double Cape Horn, which the Spaniards always avoid as much as possible. They find it safer and even cheaper, to go by land, though it is three hundred leagues from St. Jago to Buenos Ayres, and that they must travel forty leagues through the snows and precipices of the Cordeleras.

CHILI sends to Paraguay some woollen stuffs called *panchos*, which are used for cloaks. It also sends wines, brandy, oil, and chiefly gold ; and receives in return wax, a kind of tallow fit to make soap, the herb of Paraguay, European goods

goods, and as many negroes as Buenos Ayres can ~~book~~^{look} furnish. Those negroes that come from Panama, as ~~VIII.~~^{viii.} numbers of them are lost by a long navigation and frequent change of climate, are purchased at a higher price, and are not so robust.

CHILI is a state entirely distinct from Peru, and is governed by a chief who is absolute in all political, civil, and military affairs, and independent of the viceroy, who has no authority except when a governor dies, to appoint one in his room for a time, till the mother country names a successor. If on some occasions the viceroy has interfered in the government of Chili, it was when he has been either authorised by a particular trust reposed in him by the court, or by the deference paid to the eminence of his office ; or when he has been actuated by that ambition which naturally prompts men in power to extend their authority. Paraguay enjoys the same independence.

PARAGUAY is bounded on the north by the river Settlement of the Amazons, on the south by the country bordering on the streights of Magellan, on the east by the Brazils, and on the west by Chili and Peru. It derives its name from a large river that comes down from the lake Xarayes, and runs nearly from north to south ; and after having made several windings through an immense space, falls into the sea about the 35th degree of south latitude.

This region, which is about 500 leagues long and 300 broad, is very much diversified. It contains vast forests, long ridges of mountains, low lands

BOOK lands that are under water great part of the year, VIII. and morasses that constantly corrupt the air by their stagnating waters. The roving nations who inhabit these deserts are all of an olive complexion, though in a different degree, are above the middle size, and have flat faces. The men and children are generally naked, especially in the hot countries, and the women wear hardly any covering. All travellers agree in giving a very unfavourable account of these people; whom they represent as extremely stupid, fickle, perfidious, and gluttonous; much addicted to drunkenness, without any foresight, and excessively indolent and cowardly. If on certain occasions some of them have given proofs of a kind of furious courage, it was owing to their being impelled by the desire of plunder or the spirit of revenge.

THEY live upon hunting, fishing, wild fruits, honey, which is commonly found in the forests, and roots that grow spontaneous. Some few eat maize and cassada; and they often change their habitations, with a view of procuring greater plenty of food. As they have nothing to remove but a few earthen vessels, these emigrations are extremely easy; and they can find branches of trees in every place to build their huts with. Though every Indian thinks himself free, and lives in a state of absolute independence, yet the necessity of mutual defence has obliged them to form themselves into a kind of society. Some families unite under the direction of a leader of their own choice. These

af-

associations, which are more or less numerous, in BOOK proportion to the reputation and abilities of the VIII. chief, are as easily dissolved as formed.

THE discovery of the river Paraguay, since called Rio de la Plata, was made in 1516, by Diaz de Solis, a noted pilot of Castile. He and most of his men were put to death by the natives, who, to avoid being enslaved, some years after also destroyed the Portuguese of Brazil.

THE two rival nations, equally alarmed by these calamities, gave up all thoughts of Paraguay, and turned their avaricious views towards another place. The Spaniards accidentally returned there in 1526.

SEBASTIAN CABOT, who in 1496 had made the discovery of Newfoundland for the crown of England, finding that kingdom was too much taken up with domestic affairs to think of making settlements in a new world, offered his services to Spain, where his reputation made him be fixed upon to conduct an important expedition.

THE *Victory*, celebrated for being the first ship that ever sailed round the world, the only one of Magellan's squadron that returned to Europe, had brought a great quantity of spices from the Moluccas. The great profit that was made upon this sale, occasioned a second expedition, and the command was given to Cabot. In pursuing the track of the former voyage, he arrived at the mouth of the Plata. Whether he was in want of provisions necessary for a longer voyage, or whether,

BOOK ^{VIII.} which is more probable, his men began to be mutinous, he stopped there. He sailed up the river, and built a fortress at the entrance of the river Rioteceo, which comes down from the mountains of Tucutnan. All the incidents that succeeded this establishment, are recorded with miraculous circumstances by the Spanish historians. To evince the falsehood of them, we shall only relate them in their own style and manner.

Nuno de Lara was appointed to guard the first bulwark, erected on the fortunate banks of the Paraguay, to afford the Spaniards the opportunity of making themselves masters of all the riches of a world destined by heaven, for a people who of all Christendom were the most distinguished for their faith and attachment to religion. If the governor had been supplied only with as many soldiers as there were nations to fight or to expel, he would have depended upon the valour of the Spaniards that had so often signalized itself, to insure the conquest of Paraguay. But no more than a hundred and twenty men had been given him to oppose such innumerable people. He, therefore, thought it adviseable to secure his situation by an alliance with the Timbuez, a nation bordering on his government. Mangora, their cacique, was delighted with the character of Nuno, and accepted proposals which were intended to honour and distinguish him from that multitude of savages who were destined to be one day the slaves of that nation, which was the mistress of the new world.

'The

The Spaniard received him with kindness. But ~~B O O K~~ let us admire the power of love, who not content with triumphing over gods and heroes, delights in subduing the fierceness of barbarous nations. His quiver has surer and more deadly arrows than the poisoned darts of the Indian.

THE cacique was inflamed with love at the sight of a lady, whose name was Lucia Miranda, the wife of the invincible captain Sebastian Hurtado. From that instant the cacique became furious, and felt that it would be in vain for America to pretend to resist a nation, each of whose soldiers destroyed whole armies, and each of whose women could lay all their chiefs at her feet. He ventured to confess his love to her who did not condescend to take notice of it. But, in order to seduce by artifice a woman whom he despaired of obtaining by violence, he laid a plan to work upon the ambition of Hurtado. He invited him with Miranda to come and receive the homage of his whole nation, giving him to understand that a beauty destined to triumph in both worlds, would for ever secure an alliance to the Spaniards with such of the Timbuez as might still doubt the superiority of so celebrated a people; and who would be convinced, when they should see from what source of heroism the Europeans derived that courage which enabled them with so much facility to become masters of the world: for terror had spread the fame of the Spanish arms, from one tropic to the

BOOK the other, more effectually and with greater rapidity, than even victory itself.

HURTADO, who had been informed by his chaste wife, of the cacique's fatal attachment thought it incumbent upon him, from motives of pity, to detect a passion which he could not extinguish without destroying that unfortunate prince. He answered him, that no European soldier would dare to quit his camp or his garrison, without leave of the general or governor, nor could ask such a favour without disgrace, unless it were to fight and conquer. The cacique, enlightened by love, who seems only to blind happy lovers, perceived clearly that the Spaniard trifled with his passion ; and as he found he could never be happy but by the death of his rival, he resolved to destroy him. This could only be effected by treachery ; for it was impossible that Hurtado should fear any but cowards.

THE cacique was informed that Hurtado was gone out of the garrison with fifty of his invincible soldiers to procure provisions by force of arms. The garrison was extremely weakened by the absence of that captain. Mangora with expedition collected a body of four thousand Indians well armed, and concealed them in a covered morass near the citadel. Then marching to the gates with thirty of his men loaded with provisions, he sent word to Lara, that having been informed that the Spaniards, whom he considered as his friends, were in want of provisions, he had hastened to offer

offer them some, till the convoy should return with ~~3000~~
a fresh supply. The generosity of the general VIII.
could not possibly be induced to suspect any snares'
of perfidy in the presents and voluntary offers of
an ally. Lara received the cacique with the fin-
cerest testimonies of gratitude, and treated him
and his company with what foreign European pro-
visions he was able to add to the natural produce
of the country. From this variety an entertain-
ment was prepared; and the Spaniards intoxicated
fell into the arms of sleep, or rather into those of
destruction.

The cacique had before apprized his escort and
the troops he had placed in ambuscade with his
intent. Every circumstance had been previously
arranged and concerted to carry the most infamous
treachery into execution. The Spaniards were
scarce fallen asleep, when the light of the flames,
by which the magazine was set on fire, gave the
signal to the Timbuez to advance, in order to
sack the place. The soldiers who were appointed
to guard it, and whom the tumult and light of
the flames had just rouzed from their sleep, ran
intoxicated as they were, to extinguish it. During
this confusion, the contrivers of the stratagem
opened the gates to their companions, and the
whole troop, armed with poinards, fell upon the
Spaniards, who could neither escape the fire nor
the sword. Lara, mortally wounded, was less so-
licitous to extract the arrow from his own side
than to plunge his sword into the heart of Man-

BOOK *gota.* The cacique and he fell mangling each
viri. other; and they both expired together in a stream
of blood that flowed from the Spaniards and the
Indians; blood that could not be mixed and con-
founded but in their mutual destruction.

FOUR women and as many children with Miranda,
the innocent and ill fated cause of so tragical a scene,
were the only persons left in the place. Those sor-
rowful victims were carried to Siripa, the brother
and successor of the perfidious cacique. The love
of the latter passed into his brother's heart, like a
fire rekindled from his ashes. Like the sun him-
self, who shines on the rich banks of Paraguay,
Miranda could not shew herself, without inflaming
with love all who beheld her. But the passion she
inspired sometimes displayed itself in the fury of
despair, and sometimes in the weakness of sub-
mission and intreaty. Siripa threw himself at her
feet, and declared that she was not only free, but
that she should reign over the chief and the peo-
ple, which her charms would have subdued to
Spain more effectually than the arms of a victo-
rious nation. How can she yet, added he, remem-
ber an unfortunate husband, fallen no doubt under
the arrows of the Indian conspirators?

MIRANDA, still more offended at the love of
the new cacique, than she had been insensible to
that of his brother, answered him with the strongest
expressions of contempt and insult, preferring
death rather than a crown from the hand of a
savage. Had she crossed the seas with her hus-
band,

band, to forsake and betray him in a world where ~~BOOK~~ the European women ought to set the example of ~~VIII.~~ virtue, as the men did that of bravery ? But Síripa, having no conception of a conjugal fidelity, which appeared to him as extraordinary as the heroism of the Spaniards, thought that time would gradually weaken those sentiments in a sex not formed to sustain a long resistance ; or that at least so much pride could not be conquered but by tenderness. In vain did Miranda obstinately repulse the attention of the cacique ; he opposed nothing but kindness and respect to the constancy of her denials.

HURTADO, however, upon his return from his expedition, found nothing but a heap of ashes stained with blood on the spot where he had left a citadel. His eyes sought Miranda every where, without discovering so much as the shadow or the footsteps of that faithful wife. At length he heard that she was amongst the perfidious Indians, who in one night had perpetrated so many crimes. No danger could deter him from endeavouring to rescue Miranda from her ravishers. His presence kindled all the fury of jealousy in the soul of the cacique. He immediately ordered that Spaniard, the sight of whom was odious to him for many reasons, to be put to death. Miranda prevailed upon this barbarian to relent, and obtained a repeal of the sentence pronounced against her husband. She even obtained the permission of seeing him sometimes : but on condition that if they ventured

BOOK to give way to love, or to indulge in its trans.
VIII. ports, the first moment of their happiness should
be the last of their lives. A prohibition infinitely
more cruel than that which the king of the infer-
nal regions imposed upon the hapless Orpheus! Is
it possible that a man should possess an amiable
wife and not see her? Is it possible that he should
see her frequently, and never give way to conjugal
endearments? What could Siripa expect from the
torment to which he had condemned this unhappy
pair? Love is strengthened by voluntary self-
denial and the restraints itself imposes, but cannot
brook compulsion. Prohibition tends only to ex-
cite its desires, danger adds to its audacity, and
even the fear of death urges it to partake of the
joys of life. After having happily passed several
days in mutually comforting each other in their
slavery, and shedding floods of tears which are
constantly excited, dried up, and renewed in the
tender endearments of a virtuous and persecuted
love; this unfortunate pair ventured to wish for
one of those happy moments the possession of
which compensates years of pain. After having
seen each other several times, alternately promising
and denying themselves every pleasure that love
can impart; in hopes of meeting again at some
favourable opportunity, when they might freely
renew the sacred rights of marriage; at length,
love, which neither chains, tyrants, nor death can
restrain, claimed the tribute which virtue offers up
to heaven in the embraces of conjugal fidelity.

The

The barbarous Siripa one day surprised Hurtado ~~BOOK~~ in the arms of Miranda. They were condemned ~~VIII.~~ to die, and dragged from the nuptial bed to the stake, where they ended their lives by a lingering death, in view of each other, amidst the sighs of everlasting love.

DURING this transaction, Moschera being now become the chief of the few Spaniards that remained, embarked with his little company on board a vessel that lay at anchor. By this event, Paraguay was totally delivered from the nation that threatened its liberty. This tranquillity was of short duration. Some more considerable forces appeared on the river in 1535, and laid the foundation of Buenos Ayres. The new colony soon wanted provisions. All who attempted to procure them were murdered by the savages; and it became necessary to forbid any one, upon pain of death, from going beyond the limits of the new settlement.

A WOMAN whom hunger had certainly inspired with resolution to brave the fear of death, eluded the vigilance of the guards who were posted round the colony, to preserve it from the dangers it was exposed to in consequence of the famine. Maldonata, for such was the name of the fugitive, having wandered about for some time in unknown and unfrequented roads, entered a cave to repose herself. A lioness, whom she met with there, filled her with extreme terror, which was soon changed into surprise, when she perceived this for-

BOOK midable animal approaching her with signs of fear,
VIII. and then caressing and licking her hands with
mournful cries, rather calculated to excite com-
passion than dread. Maldonata soon perceived
that the lioness was with whelp, and that her
groans were the complaints of a dam who calls
for help to get rid of her burden. Maldonata was
inspired with courage, and assisted the efforts of
nature in that painful moment, when she seems
reluctantly to give life to all beings which they are
to enjoy for so short a time. The lioness being
safely delivered, soon went out in quest of pro-
vision, which she brought and laid at the feet of
her benefactress. She daily shared it with the
little whelps, who, brought into life by her as-
sistance, and bred up with her, seemed by their
playful and harmless bites to acknowledge an ob-
ligation, which their dam repaid with the tenderest
marks of attention. But when they grew bigger,
and found themselves impelled by natural instinct
to seek their own prey, and sufficiently strong to
seize and devour it, the family dispersed in the
woods; and the lioness, who was no longer call-
ed to the cave by maternal tenderness, disappeared
likewise to roam about the forest, which her hun-
ger daily depopulated.

MALDONATA, alone and without sustenance,
was forced to quit a cavern which was an object
of terror to so many living creatures, but which
her pity had made a place of safety for her. She
now felt with sorrow the want of a society, that
had

had been of such signal service to her : she did not ~~hope~~ ^{wander} for any considerable time, before she fell ~~viii.~~ ^{into the hands of the savages.} She had been fed by a lioness, and was made a slave by men. She was soon after retaken by the Spaniards, who brought her back to Buenos Ayres. The commandant, more savage than the lions or the wild Indians, did not think her sufficiently punished for her flight by all the dangers and miseries she had endured : he had the cruelty to order her to be tied to a tree in the middle of a wood, and there left to starve, or be devoured by wild beasts.

Two days after, some soldiers went to see what was become of the unhappy victim. They found her alive, surrounded with hungry tygers, who were eager to devour her, but were kept at a distance by a lioness who lay at her feet with her whelps. This sight struck the soldiers motionless with pity and terror. When the lioness saw them, she withdrew from the tree, as if to make room for them to unbind her benefactress : but when they took her away, the animal followed slowly at some distance, endeavouring to confirm, by her caresses and tender complaints, the wonders of gratitude which the woman was relating to her deliverers. The lioness with her whelps for some time followed her footsteps, shewing all the same marks of regret and affliction, that a disconsolate family express when they attend a beloved father

BOOK or son, who is going to embark for America,
VIII. from whence he may never return.

THE commandant was informed of the whole adventure by his soldiers; and this example of gratitude in an animal so ferocious, awakened in him those feelings, which his savage heart had undoubtedly lost in crossing the seas, and he suffered a woman to live, who had been so visibly protected by heaven.

DURING this interval, the Indians, who continued to surround the Spanish colony with an intent to starve it, confined it more and more within its intrenchments. To return to Europe seemed to be the only means left to prevent the great distress that was coming on ; but the Spaniards were prepossessed with the notion that the inland country was full of mines, and this belief made them persevere. They abandoned Buenos Ayres, and founded the island of Assumption, three hundred leagues up the country, but still on the banks of the same river. By this change, they evidently removed further from the assistance of the mother country, but they imagined it brought them nearer the source of riches ; and their avidity was still greater than their foresight.

THE wild inhabitants of a country nearer the tropic, were less courageous than those of Buenos Ayres, or more easily civilized. Far from molesting the Spaniards, they supplied them with provisions. This behaviour induced the Spaniards to think that there was a possibility of securing their

their friendship, if they could be prevailed upon ~~BOOK~~ to embrace christianity ; and it was imagined that ~~VIII.~~ the most effectual method of accomplishing this, was to inspire them with a great idea of that religion. For this purpose a procession was contrived for festival days, in which, after the custom of the mother country, all the colonists were to appear with their shoulders bare, and the instruments of flagellation in their hands. The Indians were invited to this horrid scene, not unlike that which was displayed by the fanaticism of the Corybantes, and more fit to inspire an abhorrence for christianity than to recommend it. They came to the number of eight thousand men, armed with their bows and arrows, which they constantly took with them, to behold this barbarous solemnity, and fully resolved to massacre these strangers, since a religion that required them to shed their own blood, must certainly make them savage and cruel.

THE moment that the catastrophe was drawing near, Irala was informed by an Indian servant of so unexpected a plot. The Spanish general gave out that the Topiges, enemies to the whole country, were advancing to attack the place. He commanded all his troops to take up arms, and called the Indian chiefs together, to deliberate on the common danger that threatened their nation as well as his own. As soon as these men were in the power of the Spaniards, Irala put them to death, and threatened the Indians who had attended them with

ook with the same fate. These unhappy men fell on VIII, their knees, implored mercy, and only obtained it on swearing eternal and unlimited obedience, for themselves and their whole nation. The reconciliation was ratified by the marriage of some Indian women with Spaniards, a ceremony far more pleasing to heaven and earth, than that procession of flagellants that would have been concluded by a massacre. From the union of two such different nations, sprang the race of the Mestees, now so common in South America. Thus it is the fate of the Spaniards, in all parts of the world, to be a mixed race. That of the Moors, still flows in their veins in Europe, and that of the savages, in America. Perhaps, this mixture may be of advantage, if it be a fact that men, as well as animals are improved by crossing the breed. It were indeed to be wished that the various races of mankind were lost in one, that there might be an end of those national antipathies, which only serve to perpetuate the calamities of war and all the several passions that destroy the human species. But discord seems to arise of itself between brothers, can it therefore be expected that all mankind should become one family, the children of which, sprung as it were from the same common parent, should no longer thirst after each other's blood? For is not this fatal thirst excited and kept up by that of gold?

It was this shameful passion, this savage avidity, which induced the Spaniards to keep still further

further from the sea, and nearer the mountains; ~~B O O K~~
nor did they become wiser or more humane, by ~~VIII.~~
the danger they had exposed themselves to in ad-
vancing so far into the country, of being all de-
stroyed by the savages. They seemed, by the
cruelties they exercised upon the Indians, to pu-
nish them for their own obstinacy in searching for
gold where there was none. Several ships which
were bringing them troops and ammunition, were
lost, with all they had on board, by venturing too
far up the river; but even this circumstance could
not prevent them from obstinately persisting in
their avaritious views, though they had been dis-
appointed in them: till they were compelled by
repeated orders from the mother country to re-
establish Buenos Ayres. This necessary under-
taking was now become easy. The Spaniards,
who had multiplied in Paraguay, were strong
enough to restrain or destroy the nations that
might oppose them. Accordingly, as it had been
expected, they met with little difficulty. Juan
Ortiz de Zarate executed it in 1580, and rebuilt
Buenos Ayres upon the same spot, which had been
forsaken for forty years. The petty nations that
lived in the neighbourhood, submitted to the
yoke, or fled to distant parts to enjoy their free-
dom.

As soon as the colony had gained some degree Present si-
tuation of
the Spani-
ards in Pa-
raguay. of strength, it began to flourish; and in process
of time four great provinces were formed, the
Tucuman, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Paraguay
proper,

BOOK proper, and Rio de la Plata. Throughout this VIII. immense tract, there are but twelve towns, scattered in different parts, which in Europe would be reckoned only small market towns. They consist of a few houses or huts, irregularly disposed, and parted by little woods or groves, so that every house looks like a single plantation. Some small villages of conquered Indians are to be seen all round the country. The rest of it is entirely a wilderness, or inhabited by independent savages. Their rage against those who have forced them to fly to inaccessible mountains is inconceivable. They are continually sallying out from these retreats, excited by the hopes of destroying some of their tyrants. These inroads prevent all communication between the Spanish settlements.

EVEN the capital of the colony labours under some inconveniences that are totally destructive of trade. Buenos Ayres has indeed some advantages. The situation is healthy and pleasant, and the air temperate. The country presents an agreeable appearance, and would be fertile, if proper care were taken to cultivate it. The buildings, which forty years ago were all composed of earth, are more solid and commodious, since the natives have learned the art of making brick and lime. The population amounts to 16,000 souls, and the white people may be about a quarter of the number. One side of the town is defended by a fortress, with a garrison of a thousand men: and the rest is surrounded by the river. These precautions

cautions are extremely proper, but inadequate to ~~book~~
the end proposed. VIII.

THE town stands seventy leagues from the sea.¹ Large ships cannot come up to it, and the smallest vessels run great risques in sailing up a river that wants depth, is full of islands, shoals and rocks, and where storms are more frequent and more dreadful than on the ocean. It is necessary to anchor every night on the spot they come to; and on the most moderate days, a pilot must go before in a boat to sound the way for the ship. There is some danger even in the harbour, which is within three leagues of the town. Though the precaution is taken to cast all the anchors from the ships, and to secure their cables with strong iron chains, they are in danger of being sunk by a furious wind, which comes from the frontiers of Chili, and, as it meets with nothing to check its progress over a plain of three hundred leagues, grows still more impetuous as it enters the channel of the river.

If the Spaniards had not formed most of their American settlements by chance, they would have fixed upon the port of Infenada, or that of Barragon, at the entrance of the river Plata, to the west, or that of Maldonado, that lies on the same line to the east. The frequent accidents that have happened on the river, and other political reasons, have at length convinced the court of Madrid of the improper situation of Buenos Ayres, and in 1726, they built a citadel forty leagues lower, at

Monte

BOOK Monte Video, flanked with four bastions, and defended by a numerous artillery, and a garrison of two hundred men. They afterwards found that this harbour was only fit for small vessels, and therefore removed to Maldonado, where the fortifications, as well as those of Buenos Ayres and Monte Video, were built by the Guaranis, who were never rewarded for this labour. Its natural situation renders it one of the finest harbours in the world. It is large enough to contain the most numerous fleet; and the entrance which is extremely narrow, is very easily defended. The air is excellent, there is plenty of wood, and the soil is very fertile. When once the natives, who are a resolute, warlike and robust people, are subdued, and when the families which are gradually removed thither from the Canary islands, have improved the lands, the settlement will have acquired the highest degree of perfection. The ships that are sailing from Europe to the South seas, will find there a safe harbour, and all the refreshments they may want. In time it will become the natural staple for the trade of Paraguay; and may still be improved, when the Spaniards shall have adopted better principles of government. At present it is not very considerable.

Trade of Paraguay. THE richest produce that is peculiar to that continent, is the herb of Paraguay. It is the leaf of a middle-sized tree. The taste is similar to that of mallows, and in shape resembles an orange tree. It is divided into three classes. The first,

first, called *caacrys*, is the bud when it just begins to unfold its leaves. It is far superior to the other ~~will~~. two, but will not keep so long, and it is therefore difficult to export it to any distance. The next, which is called *caamini*, is the full grown leaf stripped of its stalks. If these are left on, it is called *caeguaza*, which is the third sort. The leaves are first roasted, and then kept in pits digged in the ground, and covered with bulls hides.

THE mountains of Maracayu, at the east side of Paraguay, furnish the herb that is most esteemed. The tree does not grow on the tops of the hills, but in the marshy vallies that lie between them. The city of Assumption, which is called the capital of Paraguay, though in fact it is a very inconsiderable place, first brought this valuable plant, which had always been the delight of the savages, into repute in distant countries. The exportation of it at first procured considerable riches to the town. But this advantage was not of long continuance, for all the Indians of that district were lost in the long voyage they were obliged to take. The whole country became a desert for forty leagues round the city, and the inhabitants were obliged to give up this trade which was the only source of their wealth.

THE new Villa Rica, a settlement formed near Maracayu, engrossed this branch of trade, but was soon obliged to share it with the Guaranis, who at first gathered the herb only for their own use, but soon began to sell it. This employment, added

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BOOK added to the necessity of undertaking a voyage VIII. which, including the return, comprehended four hundred leagues, kept the Guaranis absent from their habitations for a considerable part of the year. During this interval, as they were deprived of instruction, they grew indifferent to religion, and unconnected with the colony. Many of them perished by change of air and fatigue. Some grew weary of this laborious employment, and retired into the woods, where they resumed their former way of life. Besides, the villages having no men to defend them, lay exposed to the inroads of the enemy. To obviate these inconveniences, the missionaries procured seeds from Maracayu, and sowed them in those parts of the land that were most analogous to the soil of the mountains. The trees which have sprung from them have greatly multiplied, and have not degenerated at least in any sensible degree.

THE produce of these plantations, added to that which grows spontaneously, is very considerable. Some is consumed in Paraguay, and Chili and Peru purchase annually to the amount of 100,000 arrobes, which, at the rate of 23 livres 12 sous, 6 deniers*, make an article of exportation of 2,362,500 livres. †

THIS herb, which the Spaniards of South America recommend as a preservative against most diseases, is in general use throughout this part of the new world. It is dried and reduced almost to powder,

* Near one guinea.

† About 103,360l.

powder, then put into a cup with sugar, lemon-~~book~~ juice, and sweet-scented paste; boiling water is ~~VIII.~~ afterwards thrown upon it, and it is drunk off directly before it has time to turn black.

THE herb of Paraguay is of no consequence to Europe; but that country is valuable on other accounts, and in particular for the hides it sends over. When the Spaniards forsook Buenos Ayres in 1538, they left in the neighbouring fields some horned cattle, which they had brought over from their own country. They multiplied to such a degree in those pastures, that when the town was re-established, they were totally neglected. The method was afterwards adopted of knocking them on the head, merely for the sake of their hides. The manner in which this is done deserves to be mentioned.

A NUMBER of huntsmen on horseback repair to such places as are mostly frequented by the wild bulls. Each huntsman pursues the bull he fixes upon, and hamstring him with a sharp iron cut in the shape of a crescent, and fastened to a long handle. When the animal is overcome, the huntsman attacks others and disables them in the same manner. After some days spent in this violent exercise, the huntsmen return in search of the bulls they have disabled, which they flay, carry away the hides, and sometimes the tongues and the fat: the rest they leave to be devoured by the vultures and other birds of prey.

BOOK VIII. THE price of hides was so low at first, that they were scarce worth one livre six sous * a-piece, though the buyers refused a great many because they were not of the proper size; but the value of them has increased since the number of bulls has diminished. This decrease is not so much to be attributed to the huntsmen as to the wild dogs. These destructive animals make such ravage among them, that the colony is in danger of losing this lucrative branch of trade. The government of Buenos Ayres has endeavoured to prevent this misfortune, by ordering part of the garrison out to destroy these dogs that are become so fierce. The soldiers, at their return from this necessary expedition, were treated with so much insult and contempt, that they could not be prevailed upon to go out again upon an excursion that exposed them to the ridicule of their own countrymen.

THE deficiency in the article of hides, will be compensated by tobacco, which is begun to be cultivated in Paraguay with success. A considerable quantity is sent over every year; as likewise vicuna wool, which comes from the mountains, and metals; all which productions are foreign to the colony.

THE first Spaniards who came to Paraguay, made no doubt but a country that lay so near Peru must contain great riches. They acted in consequence of this persuasion, which was kept up for a whole century by some very trifling incidents.

They

* About 1s. id. £.

They found themselves at length under a necessity ~~BOOK~~^{VIII.} of giving up this chimerical idea ; but after it had long been disbelieved, it was again revived to serve some private purpose. It is now generally known that Paraguay has no gold nor silver but what comes from Chili and Potosi. Some of it circulates in the colony ; a much greater quantity is smuggled into the Portuguese settlements ; and about five million* are shipped off every year from Buenos Ayres for the mother country.

THE account we have given of the natural state, the constitution, and the riches of Paraguay, does not seem calculated to inspire any high idea of this colony. The attention that has constantly been paid to it has been owing to an establishment formed in its center, which, after having long been a subject of dispute, has at length met with the approbation of the wisest men. The opinion we are to entertain of it, seems finally to be determined by philosophy, before which ignorance, prejudice, and faction should disappear, as shades vanish before the light.

THE Jesuits intrusted with the missions of Peru, being informed how the Incas governed their empire, and made their conquests, adopted their plan in the execution of a considerable project they had formed. The descendants of Manco Capac, marched to their frontiers with powerful armies, composed of soldiers who at least knew how to obey, to fight, and to intrench themselves ; and who,

BOOK together with better offensive weapons than those VIII. of the savages, had also shields and defensive weapons, which their enemies had not. They proposed to the nation which they wanted to unite to their government, to embrace their religion, laws, and manners, to quit their forests and to live in society. They frequently met with opposition. Most of those people persisted for a long time in defence of their prejudices and their liberty. The Incas then had recourse to patience, and sent fresh deputies, who again endeavoured to persuade them. Sometimes those deputies were murdered; at other times the savages fell upon the army of the Incas. But the latter fought with great courage, were always successful, and suspended the fight the instant they had gained the victory. If they took any prisoners, they treated them so kindly, that they willingly submitted to the yoke of these humane conquerors, and endeavoured at their return to inspire their nation with the same favourable opinion of them. A Peruvian army seldom begun the attack, and the Incas has often been known to forbear hostilities, even after he had experienced the perfidy of the barbarians, and several of his soldiers had been murdered.

THE Jesuits, who had no army, confined themselves to the arts of persuasion. They went into the forests to look for the savages, and prevailed upon them to renounce their old customs and prejudices, to embrace a religion which they did not under-

understand, and to enjoy the sweets of society, to ~~book~~
which they were before strangers.

VIII.

THE Incas had another advantage over the Jesuits, which was, the nature of their religion, calculated to strike the senses. It is a more easy matter to persuade men to worship the sun which they see, than to adore an invisible God, and to believe doctrines and mysteries which they cannot comprehend. Accordingly the Jesuits have had the prudence to civilize the savages in some measure, before they attempted to convert them. They did not pretend to make them christians, till they had made them men. As soon as they had got them together, they began to procure them every advantage they had promised them, and induced them to embrace christianity, when, by making them happy, they had contributed to render them tractable.

NAWAB SALAR JUNG BAHADUR

THEY imitated the example of the Incas in the division of the lands into three shares; for religious purposes, for the public, and for individuals; they encouraged working for orphans, old people and soldiers; they rewarded great actions; they inspected or censured the morals of the people; they practised acts of benevolence; they established festivals, and intermixed them with laborious employments; they appointed military exercises, kept up a spirit of subordination, invented preservatives against idleness, and inspired them with respect for religion and the laws; they also reserved to themselves the political and religious au-

BOOK thory : in a word, whatever was valuable in the VIII. legislation of the Incas, was adopted, or even improved upon at Paraguay.

THE Incas and the Jesuits have alike established such a regularity and order, as prevents the commission of crimes, and removes the necessity of punishment. There is hardly such a thing as a delinquent in Paraguay. The morals of the people are good, and are maintained in this state of purity by still milder methods than are made use of in Peru. The laws were severe in that empire; they are not so among the Guaranis. Punishments are not dreaded there, and men fear nothing but the reproach of their own conscience.

AFTER the example of the Incas, the Jesuits have established the theocratical government, with an additional advantage peculiar to the christian religion, on which their government is founded: this is the practice of confession, which is of infinite utility, while those who introduced it shall not make an improper use of it. This alone answers the end of penal laws, and maintains a purity of manners. In Paraguay, religion, which by means of opinion exerts its authority in a more powerful manner than compulsion can, brings the guilty person to the feet of the magistrate. There, far from palliating his crime, remorse makes him rather aggravate it; and instead of endeavouring to elude his punishment, he implores it on his knees. The more public and severe it is, the more doth it contribute to quiet the conscience of the criminal.

criminal. By these means, punishment, which in ~~BOOK~~ all other places is the terror of the guilty, is here ~~VIII.~~ considered as a source of consolation to them, as it stifles the pangs of remorse by the expiation of the guilt. The people of Paraguay have no civil laws, because they know of no property; nor have they any criminal ones, because every one is his own accuser, and voluntarily submits to punishment: their only laws are the precepts of religion. Theocracy would be the most excellent of all governments, if it were possible to preserve it in its purity; but to effect this, it would be necessary that it should always be under the direction of virtuous men, deeply impressed with the real principles on which it is founded; it would be necessary that religion should teach nothing but the duties of society; that it should consider nothing as a crime but what violates the natural rights of mankind; that its precepts should not substitute prayers in lieu of labour, vain ceremonies instead of works of charity, or imaginary scruples to just remorse.

BUT it can hardly be expected that Jesuits born in Spain or Italy should not have transmitted to Paraguay the monastic notions and practices of Rome or Madrid. However, if they have introduced some abuses, it must be confessed it has been with such peculiar advantages, that, perhaps, it is impossible to do so much good to men anywhere else, with so little injury.

BOOK VIII. THERE are more arts and conveniences in the republics of the Jesuits than there had been even in Cusco itself, without more luxury. The use of coin is unknown there. The watchmaker, weaver, locksmith and taylor all deposit their works in public warehouses. They are supplied with every necessary of life; as the husbandman has laboured for them. The Jesuits, assisted by magistrates who are chosen by the people, attend to the several wants of the whole community.

THERE is no distinction of stations; and it is the only society on earth where men enjoy that equality which is the second of all blessings; for liberty is undoubtedly the first.

THE Incas and the Jesuits have both inspired men with a reverence for religion, by the dazzling pomp of external ceremonies. Nothing could be compared to the magnificence and splendour of the temples of the sun; and the churches in Paraguay are equal to the most elegant in Europe. The Jesuits have made their worship pleasing, without rendering it an indecent farce. The Indians are invited to resort to church by music that awakens their sensibility, by affecting hymns, by lively paintings, and by the pomp of ceremonies; so that pleasure is here blended with the exercises of piety. It is here that religion is amiable, and that the people first love it in its ministers. Nothing can equal the purity of manners, the mild and tender zeal, and the paternal kindness of the Jesuits of Paraguay. Every pastor is truly the father,

father, as he is the guide of his parishioners. His book authority is not felt, because he commands, forbids, and punishes nothing, but what is commanded, forbidden, and punished by the religion they all reverence and love, equally with himself.

It should seem that men must have multiplied considerably under a government where none are idle, or fatigued with labour; where the food is equal in wholesomeness, plenty, and quality for all the citizens; where every one is conveniently lodged and well clothed; where the aged, and the sick, the widows and orphans, are assisted in a manner unknown in all other parts of the world; where every one marries from choice and not from interest, and where a number of children is considered as a blessing, and can never be burdensome: where debauch, the necessary consequence of idleness, which equally corrupts the opulent and the poor, never hastens the period of natural infirmities, or tends to abridge the term of human life; where nothing serves to excite artificial passions, or contradicts those that are regulated by nature and reason; where the people enjoy the advantages of trade, and are not exposed to the contagion of vice and luxury; where plentiful magazines, and a friendly intercourse between nations united in the bonds of the same religion, are a security against any scarcity that might happen from the inconstancy or inclemency of the seasons; where public justice has never been reduced to the cruel necessity of condemning a single malefactor to

BOOK to death, to disgrace, or to any punishment of a long duration; where the very names of a tax or a law suit, those two terrible scourges which every where else afflict mankind, are unknown; such a country must naturally be expected to be the most populous in the world; and yet it is far from being so.

THIS empire, which began in the year 1610, extends from the river Parana, which runs into the Paragua under the 27th degree of south latitude, to the Uruguay that falls into the same river towards the 34th degree. On the banks of those two great rivers, which descend from the mountains near Brazil, in the fertile plains that lie between them, the Jesuits had already, in 1676, settled twenty-two villages; though no account has been given of their degree of population. In 1702, there were twenty-nine, consisting in all of 22,761 families, which amounted to 89,491 souls. The habitations and inhabitants have increased since, and the whole may now comprehend 200,000.

THESE religious legislators have long been suspected of concealing the number of their subjects with a view of defrauding Spain of the tribute they had submitted to pay; and the court of Madrid has discovered some anxiety on that account. An exact inquiry has dispelled those injurious and ill-grounded suspicions. Can it with any probability be supposed, that a society ever jealous of its honour, should for a mean and low interest sacrifice

sacrifice a sense of greatness, adequate to the ma- BOOK
jesty of an establishment they were forming with VIII.
so much care and pains ?

THOSE who were too well acquainted with the genius of the society, to charge it with such injurious and illiberal accusations, have pretended that the number of the Guaranis did not increase, because they perished by working in the mines. This accusation, urged above a hundred years ago, has been propagated by the same spirit of avarice, envy and malignity, that first invented it. The greater pains the Spanish ministry have employed in search of these hidden treasures, the more they have been convinced that they were all chimerical. If the Jesuits had discovered any mines, they certainly would have taken care to conceal the discovery, which if known would have introduced every kind of vice ; and thus their empire would soon have been subverted, and their power totally destroyed.

OTHERS are of opinion that the oppression of monkish government must have checked the population of the Guaranis. But this is hardly reconcileable with that implicit confidence, and that extraordinary degree of attachment the Guaranis are said to have for the missionaries who govern them. Oppression consists in imposing labour and exacting tribute by compulsion ; in arbitrary levies of men or money to supply armies and fleets, destined for destruction ; in the violent execution of laws made without the consent of the people,
and

BOOK and contrary to the remonstrances of the magistrates ; in the violation of public, and the establishment of private privilege ; in the inconsistency of the principles of an authority, which under pretence of being founded by divine will on the right of the sword, lays claim to every thing by the one, and commands every thing by the other ; which makes use of force to establish religion, and of religion to influence the decisions of justice : this is oppression. But it can never exist, where every action is the result of voluntary submission, and proceeds from inclination founded on conviction, and where nothing is done but from choice, and full approbation. This is that gentle sway of opinion, the only one, perhaps, that it is lawful for one man to exercise over another, because it makes those people happy who submit to it. Such undoubtedly is that of the Jesuits in Paraguay, since whole nations have voluntarily incorporated themselves into their government, and none have ever thrown off the yoke. It cannot be pretended that fifty Jesuits have been able to compel two hundred thousand Indians to be their slaves, who had it in their power either to massacre their priests, or to take refuge in the deserts. This strange paradox would never be admitted by men of the most sanguine or most credulous disposition.

SOME have suspected that the Jesuits had propagated that love of celibacy amongst their people, which was so prevalent in Europe in the dark ages

ages of ignorance, and is not yet entirely eradicated, notwithstanding it has constantly been urged how contrary it is to nature, reason and society. But this opinion is entirely without foundation. The missionaries have never even given any idea to their converts of a superstition which was totally improper and inconsistent with the climate ; and would have been sufficient to prejudice them against their best institutions, or to defeat the design of them.

Politicians have further endeavoured to account for the want of population among the Guaranis, from their having no property. The idea under which we consider property, namely as a source of the increase both of men and subsistence, is an unquestionable truth ; but such is the fate of the best institutions, that our political errors will often endanger them. Under the law of property, when it is attended with avarice, ambition, luxury, a multitude of imaginary wants, and various other irregularities arising from the imperfections of our goverments ; the bounds of our possessions, either too confined, or too extended, prevent at the same time both the fertility of our lands and the increase of our species. These inconveniences exist not in Paraguay. All are sure of subsistence ; consequently all enjoy the great advantages of property, though deprived in a strict sense of the right to it. This privation cannot justly be considered as the reason that has impeded the progres-

of

BOOK of population among them; but it must be im-
VIII. puted to other causes.

FIRST, the Portuguese of St. Paul, in 1631, destroyed twelve or thirteen communities in the province of Guayra, the nearest to Brazil. The greatest part of the 97,000 Indians who lived there, perished by the sword, or in slavery, or with hunger in the forests. Only 12,000 escaped, who fled for safety to other parts further distant from the Portuguese.

THIS destruction, the effects of which it would have required a number of ages to repair, has been succeeded by gradual and continual losses. The savage nations that hovered about the habitations of the Guaranis, to carry off their provisions, inhumanly massacred all those who opposed them.

THESE calamities have been followed by another far more dreadful. The Europeans brought the small-pox amongst the Guaranis, and that distemper is more fatal in Paraguay than any other country in the world. It destroys thousands in a very short time, and scarce any recover of it. It is a matter of astonishment that the Jesuits, who could not be ignorant of the salutary effects inoculation had been attended with on the banks of the Amazon, should persist in neglecting so safe and easy a method of saving the lives of their converts. It can scarce be supposed that legislators so enlightened could be prejudiced by the ridiculous objections of some ignorant divines, against a practice

practice so universally authorised by its great book success.

VIII.

BESIDE these causes of depopulation, the Guaranis are exposed to others arising from the nature of their climate, which occasions contagious distempers, especially on the banks of the Parana, where thick and constant fogs, under a sultry sky, render the air damp and unwholesome. The Guaranis are the less able to resist the malignancy of these vapours, as they feed very plentifully, though they live in a hot country. They eat their fruit green, and their meat almost raw ; this occasions a bad digestion, vicious humours, and disorders which they transmit to their posterity. The mass of blood being thus corrupted by the use of improper food and the influence of a noxious air, cannot possibly produce a numerous and long-lived offspring.

THE Chiquitos, though their situation is further advanced into the torrid zone, are much stronger than the Guaranis, who live nearer the tropic and beyond it. Under the name of Chiquitos are included many small nations, dispersed in a tract of country that extends from the 14th to the 21st degree of south latitude. It is hot, hilly and fruitful ; and intersected on the west side by three rivers, which all meet and take the name of Madera ; and this at last falls into the great river of the Amazons.

THE first conquerors of Peru were acquainted with the Chiquitos, but could not subdue them ;
and

BOOK and their successors have in vain attempted it. In VIII. 1692, the Jesuits formed the project of executing what could never be effected by force. This alarmed the Spaniards of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, who derived considerable advantages from the excursions they made into those countries, in order to carry off slaves, whom they sold at a very high price, to be employed in the mines of Potosi, and other works. They knew that the missionaries, who, either from motives of religion or ambition, had very different views and maxims, would never suffer their converts to be oppressed, and that they would be able to prevent it. Their labours were obstructed by artifice, by violence, by calumny, and all the means that savage rapaciousness could invent; but their constancy got the better of all opposition, and the plan was completed on the principles upon which it was originally formed.

In the year 1726, there were six large communities among the Chiquitos, at a pretty considerable distance from each other, and parted by immense forests. The population exceeded 40,000 souls. Their number has continually increased, and was almost double in 1746, when the new republic submitted to the dominion of Spain, on the same terms as the Guarani had done before, whose example they closely followed.

BOTH these states have raised an insurmountable barrier between them and the Spaniards. Both have established a community of goods. Trade is here carried on by the whole commonwealth. Their

Their manufactures and their agriculture are the ~~book~~ same. Sugar, tobacco, cotton, fruits, the natural corn of the country, as well as the various sorts that grow in Europe, are cultivated in all parts of the country. Most of our animals have multiplied there, and the cows and horses have not degenerated. The only difference between the two nations is, that the Chiquitos are stronger, more temperate, more assiduous, more active, and more laborious than the Guaranis. In all these respects they equally surpass the Mojes.

THE Mojes live in the 12th degree of south latitude. To the east, their country is parted from Peru by the Cordeleras. To the south, it is not far from Paraguay. To the north and west are unknown lands. About the year 1670, a Spanish Jesuit, named Baraza, a man of great sensibility, spirit, and resolution, was touched with compassion for these poor savages, who lived without agriculture, without religion, and without morals. He prevailed upon these men to quit their wandering way of life, and to settle in the country, and he governed them by the laws of the Guaranis. His labours and those of his successors had collected 30,000 souls at the beginning of this century. We have no accounts of the progress of this establishment; but if we may judge by the length of time, and the pains that have been taken, we must suppose it to be very considerable.

THE Jesuits were incessantly labouring to unite these three commonwealths, by civilizing the roving

BOOK nations that are dispersed throughout the intermediate deserts; but their scheme, the execution of which was doubtful, or at least very remote, was not consistent with the sordid views of the Spanish adventurers. Those barbarous usurpers of the new world, had been zealous in the cause of religion, as long as it furnished a pretence to shed blood for the purpose of obtaining gold; but they no longer attended to it, when it was designed only to humanize the savages, in order to make them happy. Those destroyers considered the Americans who had escaped their fury, only as so many instruments to assist their interested views. After they had deprived them of their possessions, they reduced them to a state of slavery, and condemned them to work in the mines. But the Jesuits found means to defeat their insatiable avarice, and obtained from the government the freedom of all those Indians, whom they could prevail upon to quit the forests and caverns they were used to retire to, and to live in society. These legislators soon found that this precaution was not a sufficient security to their republic, and imagined that to give it a firm establishment it was further necessary that the conquerors should be excluded from interfering with them under any pretence whatsoever. They foresaw that if they were admitted as traders, or even as mere travellers, they would assume a haughty and supercilious behaviour, would excite commotions, and occasion dissensions in those peaceable retreats, and that their example

example would introduce vice and every species of ~~BOOK~~ corruption. These dangerous men were the more ~~VIII.~~ offended at the precautions taken to prevent their designs, as those measures were approved by the wise. In the height of their fury and resentment, they spread every where the most odious imputations against the society, which upon the slightest grounds were admitted as facts.

THE missionaries traded for the nation. They sent the labours of their artificers, and the ~~heat~~ of Paraguay, to Buenos Ayres, and received money in exchange, out of which they first took up the tribute of five livres, 5 sous,* which every man above eighteen and under fifty years of age paid to the king. The remainder was employed in the purchase of such European goods as were wanted for the colony. This was the ground of the chief accusations that were brought against the Jesuits. They were universally traduced as a society of merchants, who, under the veil of religion, attended only to their own sordid interest.

IT must be confessed at least, that the founders of the first institution in Paraguay did not deserve this censure. The deserts through which they travelled, afforded neither gold nor mercantile commodities. In these they only met with forests, serpents, and morasses; sometimes they perished, or were exposed to the most severe torments, and always to excessive fatigue. The hardships they endured with so much patience, and the pains they

* About 4s. 7d.

BOOK took to get to the savages, and induce them to
VIII. quit their roving life, are far beyond what men of
common abilities could have effected. They never
entertained the idea of appropriating to themselves
the produce of a land, which their care only pre-
vented from being a habitation of wild beasts.
Their successors may possibly have been actuated
by less laudable and disinterested motives; but if
they have been of so mean a disposition as to seek
to increase their riches where they ought to have
only sought the glory of God and the good of
mankind; if they have acquired lands and amassed
treasures in America, in order to become of con-
sequence in Europe, and to increase more generally
their influence in the world; it is an ambition that
has never affected the felicity of their converts.
They have always enjoyed an uninterrupted tran-
quillity, and lived so happily that they had no
reason to regret the want of property, which they
had no notion of, nor of those superfluities of life
which they did not want.

BUT those who have not accused the Jesuits of
Paraguay of avarice, have censured their institu-
tions as being the effect of blind superstition. If
our idea of superstition be the true one, it retards
the progress of population; it devotes to useles
ceremonies the time that should be employed in
the labours of society; it deprives the laborious
man of his property, to enrich the indolent and
dangerous recluse; it promotes discord and perse-
cution for things of little moment; it gives the
signal

signal for revolt in the name of God ; it frees its ~~BOOK~~ ministers from obedience to the laws, and from the ~~VIII.~~ duties of society : in a word, it makes the people miserable, and arms the wicked against the virtuous. But nothing of this nature is to be found in Paraguay ; and if the happy institutions of these christians, who are unknown to the rest of the world, are the effect of superstition, this is the only instance in which it ever was beneficial to mankind.

POLITICIANS, who are ever restless, because they are ambitious, and who are apprehensive of every thing because their desires are unbounded, suspected with some greater reason, that the republics formed by the Jesuits might one day aspire to absolute independence, and possibly attempt to overthrow the power under whose protection they had been raised. Those men who were so humane, so perfectly united amongst themselves, and so assiduous in their labours, were also the best soldiers in America. They were well disciplined, and obeyed from a principle of religion. They fought with the same zeal that brought the christian martyrs to the scaffold, and the same enthusiasm that overthrew so many empires by the arms of the followers of Wodin and Mohammed. They were still in that full vigour which arises from uncorrupted manners and laws ; whereas the Spaniards in America, enervated by that indolence which is the consequence of victory and cruelty, were no longer what they had been at the time of

BOOK their conquests. The apprehensions therefore that
VIII. were entertained were not entirely imaginary or
without foundation.

IN those governments which preceded the establishment of christianity, and in most of them that did not admit it, civil and religious authority have always been united, as derived from the same source and tending to the same end ; or the one has been so subservient to the other, that the people could not venture to separate them in idea, and were equally kept in awe by both. The wisest law-givers have always been convinced that religion, as it prepared the minds of the people to obedience, must secure them in the continuance of it. But in Europe, where christianity rose on the ruins of a barbarous religion and a great empire ; a rivalship was immediately set up between those two powers ; a military and a religious rivalship which were both at the same time contending for dominion over the persons and properties of men. When the barbarous nations of the north made incursions upon the territories of the Roman empire, the christians, persecuted by the heathen emperors, implored the assistance of these foreign enemies, against the government that oppressed them. They preached to these conquerors a new system of religion, which enjoined to them as a duty to extirpate the established one ; and they demanded the ruins of the temples to serve as materials for the building of churches. The savages freely disposed of what was not their property : they

they sacrificed to christianity all its enemies and took their own ; they seized upon the persons of men VIII. and upon their lands, and distributed some of them to the church. They demanded tribute, but exempted the clergy from it, because they countenanced their usurpations. Noblemen became priests, and priests obtained the rank of nobility. The great connected the privileges of their birth with that of the priesthood which they embraced. The bishops imprinted the seal of religion on the lands they possessed. From this mixture and confusion of birth with high stations, of titles with estates, and of persons with things, sprang up a power, monstrous from its origin, and which in process of time became enormous ; a power, which, from the first endeavoured to establish itself as distinct from the only true and legal authority, which is, that of government ; a power, which afterwards attempted even to raise itself above government, but having been unsuccessful in the attempt, has since submitted to separate itself from it, and to exert its authority in secret over those who were willing to acknowledge it. These two powers are so different and inconsistent with each other, that they constantly disturb the harmony of states and empires.

THE Jesuits of Paraguay, who were well acquainted with this source of division, have been warned by the mischief their society has sometimes done in Europe, and have exerted themselves to promote the real happiness of America. They

BOOK have united both powers in one, making every
VIII. thing subordinate to religion; which gave them
the entire disposal of the thoughts, affections and
faculties of their converts. The question is, whether they did it for their own advantage, or for
that of their subjects.

THE readiness which these missionaries, on their being banished by the court of Madrid, unexpectedly shewed to evacuate an empire which they could so easily have defended, has justified them, in the opinion of a great part of the public, from the imputation of ambition which their enemies have laid to their charge, and spread throughout all Europe. But philosophy, which is superior to vulgar prejudices, will suspend its judgment of these legislators, till the conduct of the inhabitants of Paraguay affords a proof either in their favour or against them. If those nations submit to Spain, which has neither the right to oppose them, nor forces to enable her to do it, it will be said that the Jesuits had taken more pains to teach men obedience, than to give them just ideas of natural equity, which those savages were already acquainted with in some degree; and that in availing themselves of their ignorance to bend them to submission, though they may have made them more happy than they were before, yet they have reserved to themselves the power of rendering them one day or another the instruments of their own arbitrary will. But if these people, armed and disciplined as they are, should repulse the barbarous oppressors

of

of their country ; if they should avenge those immense regions of all the blood that Spain has shed ; ^{B O O K} ^{VIII.} philosophers will then say the Jesuits have laboured for the happiness of mankind with the disinterested spirit of virtue ; that they have ruled over the inhabitants of Paraguay only to instruct them ; that while they gave them a religion, they left them the fundamental notions of justice, which are the first precepts of true religion ; and that they have chiefly impressed on their minds that principle which is the basis of every lawful and permanent society ; that it is a crime for men collected together, to consent to a form of government, which, by abridging them of the liberty of disposing of their own fate, may one day make it their duty to commit crimes. Thus the tranquillity of Spanish America depends upon the opinions established in Paraguay.

INDEPENDENT of this danger, which may be considered as a domestic concern, Spanish America always stands exposed to foreign invasions, especially from the South Sea. It was long thought to be secure on that side, considering the distance, the hazards of navigation, and how little those seas were known. The Dutch, who did not think this coast of America so inaccessible, sent a small squadron thither in 1643, which easily took Baldivia, the chief port of Chili, and the key to those peaceful seas. They already possessed in imagination the treasures of those rich provinces, till their expectations were disappointed by the appearance ^{Invasions to which Spanish America is exposed. Methods of preventing them.}

BOOK pearance of famine and disease. The death of VIII. their chief increased their anxiety, and the troops that were sent against them from Peru threw them into total despair. The idea of the distance they were at from their native country, deprived them of all their courage, and the fear of falling into the hands of a nation whose hatred they had so often experienced, determined them to re-imbark. If their perseverance had been greater, they would probably have preserved their conquests till the arrival of the succours that would have been sent from the Zuyder-zee, when their first success came to be known.

SUCH was the opinion of those Frenchmen, who, in 1698 united their riches and efforts in forming a settlement in the streights of Magellan, and on that part of the coast of Chili which had been neglected by the Spaniards. This scheme was approved by Lewis XIV, who gave it the sanction of public authority. The connections which were soon after accidentally formed between this prince and the conquerors of America, prevented the execution of a project, which was more extensive than it appeared to be.

THE English had not waited for the example set them by Holland and France, to turn their attention to the South Sea. They were invited by the mines as early as the year 1624, but the weakness of the prince who then reigned, proved the ruin of a considerable association formed for this great purpose. Charles II. resumed this important

tant project, and sent Sir John Narborough to re-~~B O O K~~ connoitre those latitudes that were so little known, VIII. and to endeavour to open some communication with the nations of Chili. That monarch was so impatient to know the success of the expedition, that when he was informed of the return of his admiral to the downs, he got into his barge, and went to meet him at Gravelfend. Though this first attempt had been of no advantage, the ministry were not discouraged. They formed the South Sea company in 1710, who found it more convenient, or perhaps more humane, to secure to themselves by trade the riches of the countries granted to them, than to make conquests. They were acquiring riches with little difficulty, when a fatal war changed the nature of things. A squadron, under the command of Anson, was sent instead of the ships of those rapacious merchants who frequented these seas. It is probable he would have executed the whole of his commission, had he not been prevented by the misfortunes that befel his squadron, which, from ill-concerted measures at first, was under a necessity of doubling Cape Horn at an improper and dangerous season. Since the year 1764, England is peaceably endeavouring to form a settlement in the South Seas. The English admirals have already discovered several populous islands. Time will shew what use they may be of, and how far they may be serviceable in hastening some revolution.

60 HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

BOOK AMBITION cannot be satisfied with such slow advances. But if the generous and lawful desire of VIII. delivering half the continent of America from the Spanish yoke, and an emulation to share its riches by trade and industry; if such exalted views should be joined to those motives of interest which occasion contests and kindle war among nations, it would be no difficult matter, by pursuing the plan laid down by Anson, to deprive Spain at once of all her American possessions beyond the southern tropic. Twelve men of war, sent from Europe with three or four thousand troops, might securely make this attempt. They would immediately procure refreshments at the Brazils, at Rio Janeiro, at St. Catherine's, and at all the Portuguese settlements, which are nearly interested in humbling the Spaniards. If these ships should afterwards stand in need of some repairs, they might be done with safety upon the desert and uninhabitable coast of Patagonia, at Port Desire or at St. Julian. They would double Cape Horn in December and January, seasons of the year when those seas are as little exposed to storms as any others. If they should chance to separate, they would meet again at the desert island of Socoro, and then attack Baldivia with their united force.

THIS place is less formidable than it appears. The fortifications indeed are considerable, but they are out of repair. There are a hundred pieces of cannon, but few have carriages fit for use. They are never provided with stores or ammunition to stand

stand a siege. If an attentive administration, a book thing unknown in that country, should remedy these disorders, it would still make but little resistance. A garrison consisting of officers and soldiers rendered infamous by their crimes, and by the banishment to which they are condemned, would always be deficient in that spirit of honour, experience and abilities necessary to make a vigorous defence. The conquerors would find a safe harbour, excellent timber, hemp, corn, and all the conveniences they could wish after a long passage. The troops, who would soon recover in so healthy and plentiful a country, would attack the rest of Chili with great advantage.

THIS kingdom, which was formerly defended by two thousand men, has now only five hundred troops, half of which are cavalry, and the other half infantry. All the Spaniards, indeed, capable of bearing arms, and formed into companies, are obliged to join the army ; but what resistance could these enervated and inexperienced citizens make against well-disciplined troops, inured to all the fatigues of war ? Yet this is not the only circumstance : The Araucos and their friends would no sooner hear of this revolution, but they would take the field without being called upon. Their cruelty is so well known, that the Spaniards would exert all their efforts against these barbarians, and would relinquish all thoughts of opposing the enterprises of the Europeans.

BOOK VIII. The coast of Peru would make still less resistance. Callao, the only fortified place, has only a garrison of six hundred men. The reduction of this port would open the way to Lima, which is no more than two leagues off, and incapable of making any defence. The succours that might be sent from the inland parts, where there are no soldiers, would not save the place; and the enemies' squadron would intercept any that might come from Panama by sea. Panama itself, which is surrounded only by a wall, without a ditch or any outworks, would soon be obliged to surrender: the garrison, continually weakened by detachments it must send to defend Darien, Chagre and Portobello, would be unable to repulse a vigorous attack.

It must be confessed, indeed, that the enemy, though master of the sea-coast, would not on that account be in possession of all Peru. There is certainly a very essential difference between the taking of two inconsiderable places and the conquest of so vast an empire. If we consider, however, the bad dispositions of the Indians, the discontent of the Creoles, their sloth, their want of experience, and their ignorance of the art of war; a great revolution may not be so improbable as it appears to be at the first view. The nation that should attack the Spaniards, would have little less advantage over them, than they themselves had over the Americans when they first discovered them. But if the Jesuits, actuated by that spirit of

of ambition they are accused of, and that resent- ~~ment~~ ^{BOOK} which religion itself cannot have extinguished in their hearts, should join with the enemies of their persecutors, and introduce them to a people who must still retain an affection for them; how easily might they not engage all the inhabitants of Paraguay to revolt, and stir up a war of all America against Spain! What a triumph for that society, for those men who are said to be so artful, and so zealous in all their secret intrigues, if they could in their turn expel from America that nation, which has driven them out of all its dominions!

BUT admitting that the success of the conqueror should be confined to the taking of Callao and Panama, Spain would even then be deprived of all the treasures of the South seas. To regain this advantage, the Spaniards would be obliged to make considerable armaments; which must sail without being intercepted, and must go round cape Horn, or through the straits of Magellan. They must then, without having a harbour where their ships might be refitted and take in refreshments, engage with a squadron that had been supplied with every necessary from the isthmus of Panama: and if they should gain the victory, they must afterwards be strong enough to besiege and make themselves masters of two places that would be well defended. These are difficulties not easily surmounted.

BUT,

BOOK BUT, without executing this plan in its full extent, the navigation of the South seas might still be intercepted : this may be effected if only two strong men of war can get thither undiscovered. By cruising to the north and south of Lima, where all the trade of the country is united as in one common center, no vessel can arrive or come out from thence without being observed. The ships which, on account of the winds and currents, must always keep in the same line, must necessarily come under the enemy's sails. When merchants, warned by the considerable losses they have sustained in trade, abstain from sending any more ships, there is, indeed, an end of captures ; but if the officers, more firmly attached to their country than to their own private interest, should notwithstanding this still remain in their station, Spain will equally be deprived of all its advantages.

ALL these misfortunes, which may not be far off, considering the boldness of navigators, and the late discoveries made by the English in the South Seas, can only be prevented by a strong squadron constantly stationed there. The Spaniards, who are in need of such a support, have all the materials in their power necessary to procure it : these are to be found in the South sea, and are adapted to the climate. It must be granted that the crews, composed in a great measure of Indians or negroes, will never be equal to the European sailors ; but if they are carefully exercised, accustomed to bear the fatigues of the sea, to fire,

to work the ship, and well trained to discipline, B O O K they will be able to encounter men who are spent VIII. with the fatigues of a long navigation, a hot cli- mate, sickness and bad provisions, and who have no place where they can procure refreshments, in those remote latitudes. We may even venture to affirm, that if the Spaniards could once gain the affection of the Indians, and reconcile them to their dominion, and if they could train them up to navigation with such a naval force as we have been mentioning for the South sea, no nation on earth would dare to shew its flag in those latitudes.

BUT even supposing this is not to be expected, it would still be necessary to have a squadron always in readiness, and keep it constantly in motion, though it should only be required against the enemy in time of war. This squadron at its leisure might be usefully employed in procuring along the coast provisions which are lost for want of opportunities and means of exporting them. This would probably awaken the colonists out of that lethargy into which they have been sunk for these two centuries. As soon as they were assured that they could convey their produce to Panama without any charges, and from thence down the Chagres at a moderate expence, to be shipped off for Europe; they would cheerfully follow those labours of which they would be certain to reap the benefit. Their spirit of emulation might in time increase so much as to induce the ministry to

BOOK have a canal cut, five leagues in length, which VIII. would compleat the communication between the two oceans, that is already so far advanced by a navigable river. The government would consequently share with the people the advantages that would arise from the execution of this scheme ; unless the Spaniards think it their interest to keep the isthmus of Panama shut up, as the Caliphs of old, who would not open the isthmus of Suez. The general welfare of nations and the interest of commerce, strongly urge the necessity of making these two openings, to facilitate a speedy intercourse between the several nations. The arbitrary power of eastern princes, and the indolence of the Spaniards, oppose the freedom of trade, and reject that spirit of social equality, with which they are unacquainted. They chuse rather to reduce the people of one part of the globe that abounds in riches, to famine, and let those of the other perish in want and slavery, than to share the earth and its treasures with all its inhabitants. But perhaps, the court of Madrid apprehends that if this communication were opened, Peru and Chili might be invaded by the northern sea : this is a point that must now be enquired into.

THE Spanish possessions on the northern sea, extend from the gulf of Mexico to the Oroonoko. In that immense tract of country there are an infinite number of places where it is impossible to land, and many more where landing would answer no purpose. All the ports that have hitherto been considered

considered as important, such as Vera Cruz, Cha- BOOK
gre, Porto-Bello, and Carthagena, are fortified, VIII.
and some of them with strength.

EXPERIENCE however has shewn that none of these places were impregnable: and it is well known that there are several nations capable of making themselves masters of any particular one that may appear most advantageous to them. There may also perhaps be found a power rich enough, and furnished with a sufficient number of men and ships to seize upon them all successively; and what appears to be a matter of much greater difficulty, capable of preserving them. The consequence of such a step would be, that the nature of the air in those fertile countries, which are most of them situated between the tropics, would destroy a vast number of the conquerors themselves. The climate which is always dangerous to the Europeans, fatal even for six months in the year, and pestilential to all foreigners accustomed to temperate weather, to an easy life, and to plenty, would prove their destruction. It appears from the most moderate computations, that three tenths of the French who go over to the American islands, and four tenths of the English, are victims to the climate; whereas the Spaniards lose but one tenth on the continent, which is much more unwholesome.

THOUGH some expedient should be found out to lessen the malignity of the climate, yet the conqueror would unavoidably be confined within the

BOOK forts he had taken, and must never expect to share
VIII. the produce of the mines, that are at an immense
distance from the sea. Is it possible to conceive in
what manner men, even of the greatest resolution,
and most fertile in expedients, would penetrate
into an uncultivated country without any possibility
of procuring subsistence? Can we imagine that
with infantry alone they would be able to act
against a numerous and impetuous cavalry; or to
advance through tremendous precipices, in a coun-
try where there never was but one road, and that
a very bad one, which would certainly be broken
up; or to force their way through defiles, which
five hundred men of little or no courage might
defend against an army of twenty thousand.

SUPPOSING, however, that all these miraculous
effects could take place, is it probable, that the
Spaniards of America will submit to any foreign
yoke whatever? Zealously devoted as they are
from inclination, laziness, ignorance, custom, and
pride, to their own civil and religious government,
they will never accustom themselves to any system
of foreign laws. Their prejudices will excite them
to take up arms, and enable them to repel their
conqueror, as the Portuguese, thrown into a re-
mote corner of the earth, formerly drove the
Dutch out of Brazil, when they had almost entire-
ly subdued it.

THE only way, therefore, remaining to secure
the conquest of this country, would be to destroy
all the Europeans who are settled there: for such
is

is the unhappy fate of conquerors, that after they ~~book~~ have made themselves masters of a country, they VIII. must destroy its inhabitants. But besides that it would be odious and unjust to imagine that any civilized nation could be guilty of that extreme degree of cruelty, which has rendered the Spaniards the object of general detestation to all succeeding ages; an expedient of this kind would further be as absurd in a political view, as it is horrid in a moral one. Every nation would be forced, in order to derive any advantages from its new possessions, to sacrifice its own population, activity, and industry, and consequently its whole power. It is generally known even to the most enlightened nations, that from the earliest ages, every state that has made the working of mines an object of its attention, has miserably perished, or languished in poverty and slavery.

SOME maritime power might however be so infatuated by a spirit of enthusiasm, as to endeavour to engross to itself those advantages it now shares with its rivals. The prejudices of such a people might induce them to think that the produce of the mines might be increased to double the present value, and agriculture improved infinitely beyond what it is at this time: they might imagine that artificers would quit the countries in which they are unemployed, in order to incorporate with the nation that would supply America with food and clothing; that those ships which carried the fruits of their industry to the utmost parts of the earth,

BOOK would now decay in the harbours, where the want VIII. of labour would put an end to navigation; that every branch of trade would necessarily fall entirely to the share of that power that would be the sole dispenser of riches; and that the whole world would in some degree be subject to a nation that had invaded all its treasures.

THIS flattering delusion would certainly occasion the destruction of any nation that should act in conformity to it; but it would involve Spain in long and ruinous wars, which it is both her interest and easy for her to prevent. The fitting out of a squadron would be the only necessary step for this purpose, and this might be done in the island of Cuba. The situation of her docks at the Havannah is attended with this considerable advantage, that the coasts which are most frequented by her ships, are mostly situated under the torrid zone. The woods of Europe being too soft to resist the excessive heat of that climate, consequently dry up; while those of the country, grown up and hardened in the scorching rays of the sun, require little care to preserve them for several ages.

BUT, to confine the use of this navy to the defence of the Spanish coast, would be detrimental in itself, and productive of several other evils. It might be usefully employed in reviving the intercourse between the national colonies, which was formerly interrupted by the privateers, and has been inconsiderable ever since. It should prevent illicit trade, and the disputes it occasions. It should

should secure the navigation, which is more precarious than ever, since the English were put in possession of Florida by the treaty of 1763.

BOOK VIII.

SOME men of restless dispositions, who often apprehend danger where it is not, and do not even suspect it where it is evident to all, have suggested that the navigation of Spain might be intercepted at the entrance of the channel of Bahama. The harbour of St. Augustine is only fit for ships of a moderate size, and besides, there are so many rapid currents in these latitudes, so many reefs and shoals, and such frequent storms, that it is impossible for the most expert sailors to cruise there. It would be a greater misfortune to Spain, if Great Britain should find a harbour fit to admit a fleet on the coasts of Florida in the gulph of Mexico, which at present are so little known. This may possibly never happen; but as the court of Madrid cannot determine this with certainty, she ought to endeavour to guard against such an event by being provided with a good squadron.

THIS would answer another purpose which is equally important. The English colonies in North America are continually increasing to a degree that excites universal astonishment. They may continue under the dominion of the mother country, or perhaps they may shake off the yoke. Whatever may be the event, their wants will augment with their population. This is already become so considerable, that the old markets are not sufficient for the exportation of their commodities; nor the

BOOK usual returns adequate to their consumption. This

VIII. deficiency must have been the original cause of that great commotion, that has lately broke out in so violent a manner. Great Britain does not yet appear to have traced the true cause of these disturbances, that have occasioned such alarms; but she will in time discover it. The English will be sensible that the only expedient to restore tranquillity to their possessions abroad, is to render their trade more extensive. Necessity, as well as ambition, will make them conquerors in America, and it is most probable the storm will first break over Mexico. Nothing but the naval force of Spain can prevent or avert the impending revolution.

THE rendezvous for these forces would be very ill chosen at the Havannah, San Domingo, Vera-Cruz, Potto-Bello, or Carthegena, all unhealthy places, and laying to leeward; but it should be at Bayahonda, between St. Martha and Maracaybo. That situation, though but little known, unites every advantage that can be desired; an excellent harbour easy of access, and capable with little difficulty of being made impregnable; great plenty of timber; a very wholesome air; and a soil equally fit for agriculture and breeding of cattle. The savages who inhabit this country, and who fish for pearls at Cape Vela, would either remove, or continue their usual employments, if they were treated with humanity. From this shelter the Spanish ships

ships would keep their enemy's settlements in awe, **B O O K**
and protect their own. **VIII.**

IT is true, however, that when once the ships had sailed in those seas that are to the leeward, they would find some difficulty in returning. The winds blowing regularly from the several points between south-east and north-east, and the currents always setting to westward, must certainly make their passage very tedious. But this inconvenience ought not to make such a project be given up, the necessity of which every thing tends to demonstrate. A further advantage would be obtained by it, if this naval force could occasionally proceed to the South Seas; but so useful a scheme is from the nature of things rendered impracticable. Before the squadron could sail towards the line, it would be obliged to proceed as high as the latitude of the straits of Gibraltar, a circumstance that would expose it to the same inconveniences as sailing from Europe. All that could be done, would be to send over able sailors by land, in order to man the ships that should be stationed for the protection of the coasts of Peru.

THE plan of defence we have here laid down as proper for Spain to pursue, is liable to great difficulties. That monarchy may not, perhaps, be able to raise the necessary supplies for forming a navy, though she may be convinced of its necessity; or, perhaps, may not be able to settle the funds requisite for its support. She may not, possibly, repose so much confidence in her agents in the

BOOK the new world, as to intrust them with so important a concern.

These objections, which we could not pass over, appear, indeed, to be unanswerable, in the present state of weakness, sloth, ignorance, and dejection of that power, which was once so formidable. But a prudent, vigorous, and speedy reformation, assisted by the care and authority of government, which would excite the attention of the people to such a plan, induce them to make attempts, and animate them to exert their efforts, would soon remove a variety of objections, which a spirit of timidity magnifies, increases, and tends to perpetuate.

ABUSES of a long continuance, and persons who are materially interested in supporting them, will prove impediments to every plan of public advantage for the colonies. But these will soon be obviated, if they are first vigorously attacked in the mother country.

Causes of
the decay
of Spain.

ALL the political writers who have attempted to trace the causes of those evils under which Spain has so long been oppressed, have constantly urged, that the Spaniards finding themselves masters of the treasures of America, had voluntarily neglected their manufactures and agriculture. Such an idea can never have been entertained by any people. Nations are not generally guided by reason; they are directed or hurried on by the train of events, which are in the hands of their rulers. The riches of America, far from occasioning the decay of arts and sciences, have from the beginning

ing contributed to their encouragement, and must ~~SOOK~~
necessarily have produced this effect.

VIII.

FERDINAND, by the conquest of the kingdom of Grahada, had acquired all the manufactures of Spain; which were chiefly in the hands of the Moors; but they had considerably injured the sale of their goods by the expulsion of the Jews. The discovery of America soon excited a spirit of industry and commerce, which increased greatly under Charles V, and even under Philip II. In the last years of his reign, the city of Sèville alone contained sixty thousand looms for weaving silks. The woollens of Segovia were esteemed the best in Europe. The Levant and Italy preferred those of Catalonia to any other. The armament against England, known by the name of the invincible Armada, and consisting of a hundred and fifty large men of war, is a proof that Spain had at that time a powerful navy, and consequently a very extensive trade by sea. In the course of a century, the Spaniards were engaged in very considerable and expensive undertakings. The wars of the Low Countries and of the League alone were attended with an expence of three thousand millions of livres.* By these different means, they sent infinitely more of their specie into foreign countries than they have since done by trade.

If the Spaniards at that time had been under a necessity of buying the commodities they sent to their colonies, Europe would even from that period

* 131,250,000L

BOOK viii. have enjoyed the treasures of America, as she does at present. Spain would then never have been able to have had such a prodigious navy, and such a number of land forces, nor to have kept in her pay so many foreign troops; she could not have excited divisions among the neighbouring states, and subverted every thing by her intrigues; neither could she have been the principal spring of all political events, nor almost the most considerable power into the world.

THE visible decay of Spain may be dated from the total expulsion of the Moors and Jews in 1611. This decrease of her power was so rapid, that some Spanish writers proposed schemes for the political restoration of their empire, as early as the year 1619. It is easy to conceive what a vacancy the loss of a million of laborious men must make in their country, at a time when the nobility, who still retained all the prejudices and barbarous privileges of the Visigoths from whom they boasted their descent, threw all the labour upon that class of men they despised; though in fact the most useful. The military, that destructive profession, was the only one that was entitled to any distinction; and the arts, by which things are brought into existence, preserved, and kept in order, stamped a mark of dishonour upon those who professed them. If agriculture were in the least attended to, it was because there were slaves. If there were any trade, it was because there were Jews. Lastly, if Spain had any manufactures, it was owing to the

the Moors, who led a laborious life, and were generally held in contempt. Government did not consider, that in order to retain the treasures of America in the mother country, nothing more was necessary than to encourage that industry which brought them there. The only active part of the nation, the only set of men that could promote this great end, were infamously banished. In vain did these unhappy sufferers offer the government twenty millions, and they would even have tripled that sum, to obtain a permission to continue in the country where they were born ; the same superstition that had devoted them to destruction prevented the policy of the state from attending to their complaints. There was not any nation in Europe at that time sufficiently enlightened to offer them an asylum, and they were forced to disperse themselves in Africa and Asia.

WHILE these unhappy men were driven by despair to take refuge upon those barbarous coasts, Spain triumphed in her blind fanaticism ; and imagined herself still the richest kingdom in the world, without even entertaining a suspicion that the ships which crowded her harbours, were continually exhausting her substance. When the Spaniards became sensible of the diminution of their specie, they imputed it to the loss of some India ships that had been cast away in their passage home, to the taking of the galleons by the Dutch, and to the badness of their sales. They thought that to supply these deficiencies, it was only necessary

BOOK necessary to impose heavier duties on manufactures
VIII. and artificers. But this burden, which could not
have been supported by the workmen even when
their number was considerable, grew intolerable
when only few of them remained. They fled into
Flanders and Italy, or continued in the country
and quitted their profession. The silks of Va-
lencia, and the fine wool of Andalusia and Castile,
were no longer manufactured by the Spaniards.

THE treasury having no more manufactures to
oppress, now oppressed the farmers. The taxes
levied upon agriculture, were as ill judged as they
were various and excessive. Besides general du-
ties, there were what the financiers call extraor-
dinary duties, which is a mode of levying money
upon a particular class of citizens ; a kind of tax
unprofitable to the state, and ruinous to those who
are taxed, and which tends only to enrich the per-
son who has contrived it. These resources proved
inadequate to the urgent necessities of government,
and the financiers were called upon to advance con-
siderable sums. At this period, they became mas-
ters of the state, and were empowered to farm out
the several parts of their lease. This introduced a
multitude of agents, and with them numberless
restraints and oppressions. The laws which these
rapacious men were allowed to enact, were only so
many snares to seduce the honest and credulous.
In process of time, they usurped the sovereign au-
thority, and found means to elude the royal tri-
bunals, to chuse judges for themselves, and to
pay

pay them. In short, they became judges in their own cause.

VIII.

THE owners of the lands that were oppressed by this tyranny, either threw up their estates, or neglected the improvement of them. That fertile peninsula, which, though subject to frequent droughts, still afforded subsistence to thirteen or fourteen millions of inhabitants before the discovery of America, and had formerly been the granary of Rome and all Italy, was soon overspread with thorns and briars. The pernicious custom of fixing the price of corn was then adopted ; and public granaries were established in every province, which were consequently managed without either skill, care, or honesty. Besides, what advantage could be expected to arise from such precarious resources ? How could it possibly enter into any one's thoughts, to lay restraints upon the price of corn, in order to increase the quantity of it ; to raise the price of provisions, in order to make them cheaper ; or to facilitate monopoly, in order to prevent it ?

WHEN once a nation has begun to decline, it seldom recovers itself. The loss of population, of the manufactures, of trade, and of agriculture, was attended with the greatest evils. While Europe was daily improving in knowledge, and all nations were animated with a spirit of industry, Spain was falling into a state of inaction and barbarism. The duties of the former customs, which were still suffered to remain upon goods passing from

80 HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE.

BOOK from one province to another, were carried to such VIII. an excess, as to prevent all communication between them. Even the conveyance of money from one province to another, was prohibited. In a short time, not the least sign of a road was to be seen. Travellers were stopped at the crossing of rivers, where there was neither bridge nor boats. There was not a single canal, or one navigable river. People, the most superstitious in the world, with regard to the observance of fast days, suffered their fisheries to decline, and bought fish every year to the amount of twelve millions.* Except a few ill-built vessels destined for their colonies, they had not a single ship belonging to government in their harbours. Their coasts lay exposed to the depredations of the corsairs from Barbary. To avoid these, they were obliged to freight upon foreign bottoms, even the *avisos* they sent to the Canary islands and to America. Philip IV, possessed of all the rich mines of America, at once found all his gold changed into copper, and was reduced to the necessity of making his copper coin bear almost the same value as that of silver.

THESE were not the greatest grievances of the monarchy. Spain, from an absurd and superstitious veneration for the age of her conquests, scornfully rejected whatever was not practised in those glorious days. The Spaniards saw all other nations growing more enlightened, more exalted, and more powerful, but thought it beneath them to

copy

* 525,000L.

copy after any one of them. An absolute con-tempt for the improvements and customs of their neighbours formed the distinguishing character of this people.

THE inquisition, that tremendous tribunal, which was at first established in order to stop the progress of Judaism and Mohammedanism, had proved fatal to arts and sciences, and to all useful knowledge. Religious disputes occasioned, indeed, no disturbances or ravages in Spain ; but she remained in a state of the most profound ignorance. Such disputes, though always absurd in themselves, serve however to exercise the mind. They induce men to read and reflect, to consult antiquity, study history, and the ancient languages ; hence arises criticism, which is productive of true taste. The subject that first excited the exertion of the mind, soon becomes of no consequence ; books written on controversial points are neglected, but the knowledge they have diffused remains. Religious matters are like those acid and volatile particles that exist in all bodies fit for fermentation. They first occasion a cloud in the liquor that was before clear, but soon put the mass in motion. In this ferment, they fly off or sink to the bottom ; and when the whole is depurated, nothing remains but a soft, pleasant and nutritive fluid. But in the general ferment of theological disputes, all the refuse still continued in Spain. Superstition had so infatuated the nation, that they even gloried in their blindness.

BOOK INSTEAD of that activity which could alone animate the several parts of those wide dominions that lay too much scattered, the Spaniards were so slow in their motions, that all business was impeded. Such a variety of forms, precautions, and deliberations were multiplied to prevent imposition, that they only put a stop to every commercial transaction.

THE wars in which the Spaniards were engaged were as ill conducted as their system of politics. A population which was hardly sufficient for the many garrisons they kept in Italy, in the Low countries, in Africa, and in the Indies, rendered them incapable of raising an army at home. At the first breaking out of a war, they were obliged to have recourse to foreign troops. The few Spaniards who were sent to fight along with these mercenaries, were so far from being able to manage them, that their own allegiance was frequently shaken by this intercourse. They have frequently revolted together with the foreign troops, and ravaged the provinces that were committed to their protection.

A regular pay would infallibly have prevented, or soon put a stop to this spirit of sedition. But to provide for the payment of troops, and to keep them in that state of dependence and subordination so necessary to good discipline, government should have suppressed that multitude of useless officers, who by their salaries and their oppressions absorbed the greatest part of the public revenue; the

the most ancient rights of the crown should not ~~be~~ have been alienated for a trifling consideration, or suffered to be invaded; nor should the royal treasures have been squandered away, to entertain spies and to procure traitors in every country. But care should have been particularly taken, that the grandeur of the prince should not have been made to consist in granting pensions and favours to all who had no other claim, but that which they derived from their boldness in asking for them.

THIS noble and iniquitous way of receiving alms was become general. The Spaniard, naturally generous, having acquired a spirit of pride, disdained the common occupations of life, and aspired after nothing but governments, bishoprics, and the chief employments in the state.

THOSE who could not attain to these preferments, glorying in their proud insolence, still assumed the style of the court, and maintained as much gravity in their idleness, as a minister absorbed in state affairs.

EVEN the lower class of the people would have thought they defiled their victorious hands by prostituting them to peaceful labours. The fields and manufactures were left to foreigners, who came and enriched themselves by the indolence of the natives, and carried home a stock to fertilize their own lands.

Men born to no property, meanly preferring idle slavery to laborious liberty, eagerly solicited to be admitted into the number of domestics that

BOOK the great kept in their retinue, with that pomp
VIII. which magnificently displays the pride of the most
useless, and the degradation of the most necessary
class of men.

THOSE who had too much vanity remaining to live without some distinction, crowded into the convents, where superstitious men had long since provided a convenient retreat for their indolence, and had carried their absurdity so far as to lavish marks of distinction upon them.

EVEN the Spaniards who had competent fortunes, rather gave up all thoughts of posterity, than to attend to the establishment of it. If some, induced by love and virtuous motives, chose, in imitation of the great, to enter into marriage, they sent their sons, in their earlier years to be educated in the superstitious manner of the colleges; and from the age of fifteen resigned them to the courtesans. The abilities and strength of these young men being thus vitiated, they were equally enervated by these infamous connections, which they did not even break off when they entered into the sacred ties of matrimony. This extreme licentiousness is the original and only cause of the decay of population in Spain, where women were formerly as fruitful as in any other populous country.

OUT of this degenerate race were taken the men who were to hold the reins of government. Their administration was answerable to their education, being a constant scene of idleness and corruption.

They

They seldom discovered any sense of virtue or ~~book~~ justice, or the least desire of promoting the happiness of their fellow-creatures. They thought only of plundering the provinces intrusted to their care, in order to dissipate in idleness and profusion at Madrid the fruits of their extortion. This conduct was always pursued with impunity, though it often occasioned seditions, insurrections, conspiracies and sometimes revolutions.

BESIDES all this, the states that were united to Castile by marriage or conquest, contributed to complete the ruin of the Spanish monarchy. The low countries did not afford a sufficiency to pay the garrisons that were kept to defend them. Franche Comté supplied nothing; Sardinia, Sicily and the Milanese were even burthensome to government. The tributes of Naples and Portugal were mortgaged to strangers. Arragon, Valencia, Catalonia, Rouffillon, the Balearic islands and Navarre, pretend they owed nothing to the monarchy but a free gift, which was always settled by their deputies, but seldom to the satisfaction of a rapacious court, exhausted by absurd liberalities.

WHILE affairs were in this state of confusion in Spain, the treasures of America, which at first had only been introduced into other European nations by the interests of war and politics, were now circulated through a more easy channel. As the mother country could not possibly supply the wants of her colonies, this quickened the industry of other nations, which till then had been extremely

BOOK confined. The original possessors of the riches of VIII. America could only obtain the duties of the fifth, the indulto, guarda costas, customs and commision: duties which have only increased the price of commodities to foreign merchants, by diminishing the consumption of them; for the Peruvians and Mexicans, among whom this consumption is made, stand in reality charged with these additional expences. It is by these means that the gold and silver which the discovery of America has made so plentiful in Europe, have been more generally circulated, and more equally distributed.

IN vain were all foreign nations excluded from trading in any of the American ports, by a severe law enacted by Ferdinand and Isabella and confirmed by their successors. The indispensable law of necessity has superseded this regulation, which was intended to be perpetual, and has thrown all that trade into foreign hands. From the amount of about fifty millions* worth of commodities and merchandise that are annually shipped off from Cadiz for the West Indies, scarce one eighth is Spanish property. The rest belong to other nations, friends or foes, sent in the name of Spaniards, who are always true to individuals and dishonest to government. The probity of the Spaniards, which has never been attainted, has been a security to foreigners in this trade.

Go.

* 2,188,000.

GOVERNMENT, who could not be ignorant of BOOK the unavoidable disadvantages arising from these VIII. perpetual breaches of the law, thought to obviate them by a more absurd one than the former. It prohibited, upon pain of capital punishment, the exportation of gold and silver; as if the Spaniards were not obliged to pay for what they wanted to buy. When the execution of this law was enforced, the Spaniard who is the factor at Cadiz for other nations, delivered the ingots to some bravoes, called *Meteors*, who being well armed, went upon the ramparts with the ingots all numbered, and threw them down to other meteors, who carried them to the boats that were waiting for them. They were never disturbed by the factors, the custom-house officers or the guards, who all shared the profits of the fraud, which the injustice of the law seemed to authorise; and the foreign merchant was never imposed upon. These expences enhanced the price of the merchandise, and the purchaser was under a necessity of paying them. The prohibition of exporting gold and silver was so ineffectual, that though a prodigious quantity came over every year from America, there was very little seen in the kingdom. Greater severity would only have advanced the price of commodities, by increasing the difficulty of paying for them. If, in conformity to the strictness of the proclamations, the delinquent had been apprehended, tried and condemned to death, and all his goods forfeited; such an atrocious act, far

BOOK from preventing, would rather have increased the
VIII. exportation of specie; because those who had be-
'fore been content with a moderate profit, would
require a more considerable one when the risque
was greater, and would have exported a greater
quantity of specie, that their profits might be so
much the more increased.

THE court of Madrid has at length been con-
vinced of the pernicious tendency of this tyranny.
The ancient governments, which entertained a
proper respect for the laws, would certainly have
repealed any particular one, if they had found that
the observance of it was absolutely impracticable.
In the present age, when kingdoms are governed
more by the caprice of administration than by ra-
tional principles, Spain has been satisfied with the
regulation she made a few years ago, that foreign
traders should have all the profits of the merchan-
dise they should send to America, on paying three
per cent. The money was to be transmitted by
bankers, settled for that purpose in the principal
cities of Europe. The design of the ministry
was, to make themselves masters of the trade of
the piastras, and consequently of the exchange.
This plan, which was, perhaps, more extensive
than just, has not succeeded. The agents made
choice of, have betrayed the trust reposed in them.
The court of Spain has not persisted in supporting
a system which could not long exist. Every pri-
vate man is now at liberty to draw his money di-
rectly from Spain, upon paying the accustomed
duties,

duties, which in the year 1768 were advanced ~~300~~ ⁸⁰⁰ £ from three to four per cent. If they were more ~~VIII.~~ ^{moderate,} government would derive greater advantages from them. There are certain times when the Spanish smugglers can bring the piastras on board the ships, for a price below the stated value; and it may easily be imagined those opportunities are eagerly seized.

WHILE the mother country was declining, the colonies could not possibly flourish. If the Spaniards had understood their true interest, they would, perhaps, on the first discovery of America, have been content with establishing an equitable intercourse with the Indians, which would have settled a mutual dependence, and reciprocal profits between the two nations. The manufactures of the old world, would have been bartered for the produce of the mines of the new; and wrought iron would have been changed for its weight of unwrought silver. A lasting union, the necessary consequence of a peaceable traffic, would have been established without bloodshed or devastation. Spain would equally have been mistress of Mexico and Peru; because any nation that cultivates the arts, and does not communicate the method by which it carries them on, will always have an evident superiority over those to whom it sells its manufactures.

THIS method of reasoning was not adopted by the Spaniards. The ease with which they had subdued the Indians, the ascendant which Charles V. had

BOOK had usurped over all Europe, the natural pride of VIII. conquerors, the particular temper of the Spaniards, their ignorance of the true principles of commerce; all these, and various other causes, prevented them from giving to the conquered countries of America at their first establishment there, a good system of legislation, a well regulated form of government, and a degree of stability capable of insuring their duration.

THE depopulation of America was the melancholy effect of this irregularity. The first steps of the conquerors were marked with streams of blood. Astonished as much at their own victories, as the savages were at their defeat, and intoxicated with their success, they resolved to extirpate the people they had plundered. Innumerable nations disappeared from the face of the earth at the arrival of these barbarians; and these horrid scenes of cruelty have been hitherto ascribed to a thirst of gold, and to a spirit of fanaticism.

BUT the ferocious disposition natural to man, unrestrained by the fear of punishment, or by any sense of shame, and unawed by the presence of civilized men, might so far conceal from the Spaniards the image of an organisation similar to their own, (a similarity which is the foundation of all moral duties) as to induce them to treat their newly-discovered brethren as they did the wild beasts of the other hemisphere, and to do it with as little remorse: besides that the cruelty arising from military exploits increases in proportion to the dangers

gers the soldier has gone through, to those he now ~~book~~
endures, or to those he expects : Is he not of a VIII.
more sanguinary disposition in remote countries
than at home ; and do not the sentiments of hu-
manity grow weaker, the more distant we are from
our native country ? It may likewise be conjectured
that the Spaniards, who, on their first land-
ing, were taken for Gods, might be afraid of be-
ing detected and massacred ; that they mistrusted
the marks of kindness that were shewn them ;
that when once they had begun to shed blood, they
thought their own safety required that they
should not discontinue ; that their army, consisting
only of a small number of men, being surrounded
by an innumerable multitude of natives, whose
language they did not understand, and whose
customs and manners they were strangers to, was
seized with a panic, either well or ill grounded.
But the circumstance the most inexplicable of all,
is, the absurd barbarity of government, that coun-
tenanced such scenes of horror, and kept those
profligate men in pay to persecute and destroy
their brethren.

THE Spaniards, the descendants or slaves of the Visigoths, like them divided among themselves the desert lands, and the men who had escaped their sword. Most of these wretched victims did not long survive, doomed to a state of slavery worse than death. The laws that were occasionally established in order to alleviate the hardships of their servitude, afforded them but small relief.

The

BOOK The savage, proud, and rapacious Spaniards paid
viii. as little regard to the commands of a monarch
who was too far remote from them, as to the tears
of the poor miserable Indians.

THE mines proved still a greater cause of destruction. Ever since the discovery of America, the Spaniards had attended only to this species of wealth. In vain did some men of more enlightened understanding exclaim against this infatuation. Let the gold remain where it is, said they, provided the surface of the earth that covers it can but produce an ear of corn that will make bread, or a blade of grass to feed your sheep. The only metal you want is iron. Work it into saws, hammers, and plough-shares, but not into weapons of destruction. The quantity of gold requisite for the purposes of exchange is so inconsiderable, that it is unnecessary to accumulate any great stock of it. It is very immaterial whether a hundred ells of cloth sell for one pound or twenty pounds of gold. The Spaniards have acted like the dog in the fable, that dropped the meat out of his mouth to bite at the image of it in the water, and was drowned in attempting to get it.

UNFORTUNATELY the Indians were the victims of this fatal error. Those unhappy men were sent to work at a very great depth under ground, where they were deprived of day-light, of a free and wholesome air, of the chief supports of life, and of the comfort of weeping with their friends and relations; and were doomed to dig

their

their own graves in those dark mansions, which ~~b o o k~~ now contain more ashes of the dead than gold ~~VIII.~~ dust. If we consider the barbarities exercised against these people, we cannot but be astonished to hear the covetous and stupid Spaniard complain that the Indians will not tell them of several mines they have discovered both before and since the conquest. Those wretched people would only multiply the means of their own destruction, by betraying the secret they have received from their fathers, or that chance has thrown in their way.

THE unhappy Indians, whose fate it was to submit to the yoke, have therefore fled in great numbers from the lands they cultivated for their rapacious masters, and taken refuge among the savages who wander in the forests and deserts of the Cordeleras. Those impenetrable recesses are become the asylum of multitudes of Indians, who constantly threaten the Spanish provinces with sudden invasion or open war. They contract a degree of ferociousness in those severe climates, which renders them so formidable, that the Spaniards have been obliged to abandon some very rich mines, that were exposed to their inroads. The deficiency of population among these savages, occasioned by the barrenness of the soil, the want of attention, and of the resources which society affords, is compensated by a constant supply of fugitives, who make their escape from European tyranny. It is in these mountains that a race is secretly rising up, which will one day assert its lawful rights, and recover

BOOK recover its liberty and possessions out of the cruel
viii. and rapacious hands of those who have invaded
'them ; and, perhaps, that day is not far distant.

ANOTHER cause of depopulation is, that the Europeans have taught them new wants, while they deprived them of the means of satisfying them. Before the conquest, the Indians went naked, or what they wanted for ornament they made themselves, which was a kind of employment or business among them. Their whole care was to cultivate a field of maize. Gold and silver had no value among them, as all their traffic consisted in exchanging one thing for another. Since the Indian has been taught to live in society, he must have lodging and food, and must frequently clothe himself with the produce of foreign manufactures. As he is ignorant of every art and trade, he is to procure those necessaries his new wants require ; and though he should not entirely give himself up to despondency, yet his labours would scarce procure him a subsistence ; so that, the luxury and the poverty which oppress him, have reduced him to the necessity of concealing himself from the public eye, living in a solitary manner, and giving up all thoughts of his posterity.

THIS cause of depopulation was succeeded by another still more dreadful, the very idea of which formerly inspired all Europe with horror. The celebrated Drake, having taken the town of St. Domingo in 1586, found that the Islanders were grown

grown so desperate, that, rather than see their ~~book~~ children fall into the hands of the conqueror, they ~~VIII.~~ were unanimously come to a resolution to have no connection with their wives. This abstinence from the most natural desire implanted in human nature, which is the only instance of the kind ever recorded in history, seems to have been reserved to the æra of the discovery of the new world, as a perpetual monument of Spanish tyranny. What else could the American oppose to this thirst of destruction than the horrid vow of ceasing to perpetuate their posterity? Thus the earth was stained with the blood of the fathers, and deprived of the succeeding generation.

FROM this period the country seemed to lay under a curse for these barbarous conquerors. The empire they had founded began to tend to general destruction. Prodigacy and corruption made a rapid progress among them. The most important fortresses were suffered to decay. The country was left without arms or magazines. The soldiers who were neither exercised, fed, nor clothed, became beggars or thieves. The very first principles of war and navigation were forgotten; as well as the very names of the instruments made use of in those two necessary arts.

TRADE consisted only in the art of cheating. The gold and silver, which were to be brought into the king's coffers, were fraudulently diminished, and reduced to a fourth part of the sum they ought to have produced. All orders of men, corrupted by

BOOK by avarice, united their efforts to prevent a true

VIII. state of things from being laid before the throne,
or to save those persons who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the law. The magistrates of every rank and degree always unanimously exerted themselves to support each other in their injustice.

THE scene of confusion occasioned by these extortions, introduced the fatal expedient of all ill-governed states; that of numberless taxes; as if government had two objects in view, to put a stop to every kind of industry, and to increase oppression.

IGNORANCE kept pace with injustice, "I saw," says a celebrated traveller, the very same sentence passed in one and the same tribunal, and almost within the same hour, in two cases that were directly opposite. All endeavours to make the judges understand the difference was to no purpose. At last the chief judge, seeming to be convinced, rose up, and turning up his whiskers, swore by the holy virgin, and all the saints, that the English Lutherans had run away with pope Justinian's books, which he always made use of to try intricate causes: but if those dogs should ever come again, he would have them all burnt."

THE same traveller relates that "one day Ovid's Metamorphoses fell accidentally into the hands of a creole; he carried it to a friar, who understood no more of it than himself, and made the inhabitants believe it was an English bible: he proved

" proved it by the prints he shewed them at every book
" Metamorphosis, saying; see how those dogs VIII.
" worship the devil, and how he transforms them "
" into beasts. Then the pretended bible was
" thrown into a fire kindled on purpose, and the
" monk made a long oration, which consisted of
" thanksgivings to St. Francis for this lucky dis-
" covery."

As ignorance is always favourable to superstition, the ministers of religion, without being more enlightened than others, assumed a superiority in the management of all public affairs. Being less apprehensive of punishment, they were always the most forward to break through the laws of justice, and all rules of morality and decency. The least corrupted among them became traders, and the rest availed themselves of their ecclesiastical power to extort from the Indians all they were possessed of. A Spanish monk who did not gain at least a hundred thousand livres* by a short voyage to America was considered as a man of little skill in trade. Their rapaciousness was often voluntarily gratified at their arrival by presents of immense value. It might have been imagined that America had been conquered for no other purpose than to ornament the churches and to enrich the clergy.

THE hatred which arose between the Spaniards born in America, and those who came from Europe, completed their ruin. The court had im-

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* 4,375l.

BOOK prudently laid the foundation of these unhappy
viii. divisions. The Creoles had been falsely represent-
ed as little better than barbarians, and nearly of
the same character as Indians. They thought
they could not depend upon their skill, courage,
or fidelity, and therefore determined to ex-
clude them from all places of trust and profit.
This resolution, injurious as it was, highly dis-
gusted the Creoles. The Spaniards, who were in-
vested with authority over them, were so far from
endeavouring to reconcile them, that they studied
on the contrary to exasperate them by humiliating
partialities. This produced an inveterate hatred
between these two orders of men, one of which
was loaded with favours, and the others stigmatized
with disgrace. This animosity has often broken
out in such a manner as to endanger the dominion
of the mother country in the new world ; and will
some time or other occasion a revolution. Such
an event may with the greater certainty be ex-
pected, and perhaps, is not very distant, as the
clergy on both sides, who have adopted the same
hatred and animosities, will never relinquish them,
and will endeavour, according to the spirit that has
always actuated them, to make the people irrecon-
cileable enemies.

SINCE the accession of the Bourbon family to
the throne of Charles V. these disorders, and the
evils arising from them, have in some degree di-
minished. The nobility do not take upon them-
selves that kind of state which is an attendant
upon

upon regal dignity, and which often embarrassed B O O K
the government. The management of public af- VIII.
fairs is not now confined to persons of high birth,
but given to men in favour, of fortune or me-
rit. The produce of the general and provincial
revenues of Spain, which an infamous administra-
tion had reduced to less than eight millions* to-
wards the latter end of the last century, now brings
in 72,656,805 livres †. This happy change which
first took place in the mother country, extended
itself afterwards to the colonies. The three de-
partments that are intrusted with the management
of their affairs in Europe, have gradually been
less under the dominion of that fatal disposition
which seemed to influence all their proceedings.
The council in India is more usefully employed in
regulating the government of the colonies, and
attending to their preservation. The contractation
office removed from Seville to Cadiz conducts
their trade with greater abilities. The consulate,
which takes cognizance of the differences arising
between the merchants trading to that part of
America, and is appointed to watch over the
maintenance of their privileges, has acquired some
degree of attention and knowledge.

THESE first steps towards a reformation must be Means
an inducement to the Spanish ministry to hope that Spain
a good form of government may be established, ^{that Spain ought to employ to} _{re-establish}
when the true principles on which it is founded itself.
are once known, and the proper means made use

H₂ of

• 350,000.

† 3,178,735 l. 4s. 4d. $\frac{1}{2}$.

BOOK of to effect it. The character of the nation is not VIII. an invincible obstacle to this change, as it is too generally thought to be. Indolence is not so natural to the Spaniards as we imagine. If we look back to those times in which this unfavourable prejudice was first entertained, we shall find that this want of activity did not extend to every thing; and that if Spain was inactive at home, she was not so abroad, but was incessantly disturbing the repose of her neighbours. Her idleness proceeds in some degree from foolish pride. Because the nobility were unemployed, the people imagined it was a mark of nobility to do nothing. They all wanted to enjoy the same prerogative; and the starved, half-naked Spaniard, carelessly sitting on the ground, looks with pity on his neighbours, who are well clothed, live well, work, and laugh at his folly. The one from a motive of pride despises the conveniences of life; while the other from a principle of vanity, endeavours to acquire them. The climate made the Spaniards abstemious, and indigence renders him more so. The monkish spirit, to which he has long been subject, makes him consider poverty, which is occasioned by his vices, as a virtue. As he has no property, he covets none; but his aversion for labour is greater still than his contempt for riches.

THAT poor and proud people have nothing left of their ancient character, but an immoderate fondness for every thing that has the appearance of grandeur. They must be flattered with chimerical ideas,

ideas, and animated with the strongest hopes of ~~book~~ g'ory. The satisfaction they feel in depending on VIII. none but the crown since the abasement of the grandees, makes them receive all that comes from the court with respect and confidence. This powerful influence might be made subservient to their happiness. Some means might be contrived to persuade them that labour is honourable, and the nation will soon become what it was before the discovery of America, in those glorious times, when, without any foreign aid, Spain threatened the liberties of all Europe.

WHEN the imagination of this people is once properly directed, and they are brought to be ashamed of their haughty spirit of indolence, other evils must be attended to. The most destructive to the bulk of the nation is the want of population. Well-governed colonies will naturally increase the population of the mother country, which on her part promotes the increase of theirs, by supplying them with advantageous marts for the produce of their industry. It is on this plan, alike interesting to humanity and sound policy, that the more enlightened nations of Europe have formed their settlements in America. This wise and noble design has been universally crowned with success. Spain alone, which had formed her system in a darker age, has seen her population decrease at home, in proportion as her possessions increased abroad.

BOOK VIII. WHEN the disproportion between the extent of a territory and its inhabitants is not very considerable, the balance may be gradually restored by activity, oeconomy, great encouragements given to matrimony, and a long peace. Spain, whose population, in the year 1747, amounted to no more than 7,423,590 souls, including 180,046 ecclesiastics; and who has now in her colonies little more than the twentieth part of the population there was soon after the conquest, cannot remedy this evil either at home or abroad without new and extraordinary efforts. To increase the laborious classes of men, there must be a reduction of the clergy, which enervates and destroys the state. Two thirds of her military force must be abolished, and these soldiers must be employed in the arts; since the connection with France, and the weakness of Portugal, no longer render them necessary. As their clear revenue is 112,000,000*, and the general expences amount only to 96,000,000 of livres†, the government must apply itself to alleviate the burdens of the people as soon as its possessions in both hemispheres are extricated from that confusion and disorder into which they had been thrown, for these two centuries past thro' the effects of incapacity, ignorance and tyranny. But it is first absolutely necessary that the infamous tribunal of the inquisition should be abolished, which seems to be levelled equally against the monarch

* 4,900,000l.

† 4,200,000l.

narch and the people, by keeping both under the B O O K
yoke of an absurd superstition.

VIII.

SUPERSTITION, whatever may be the reason of it, prevails among all nations, whether rude or civilized. It proceeds undoubtedly from the fear of evil, and from the ignorance of its causes, or of its remedy. At least this alone is sufficient to imprint it in the minds of all men. The calamities of nature, plagues, sickness, unforeseen accidents, destructive phenomena, all the latent causes of pain and death, are so universal on earth, that it would be very surprising if man had not been deeply affected with them in every country and in every age.

NAWAB SALAF JUNG BAHADUR.

BUT this natural fear must always have increased, or have been magnified in proportion to ignorance and sensibility. It must have given rise to the worship of the elements that are most destructive to the earth, such as inundations, conflagrations and plagues; the worship of animals, whether venomous or voracious, but always noxious: from hence too must have arisen the worship of men who have done the greatest injuries to mankind, of conquerors, of fortunate impostors, of the workers of prodigies, apparently good or bad; and the worship of invisible and imaginary beings, supposed to lie concealed in every instrument of destruction. Reflection and the study of nature must have insensibly lessened the number of these invisible agents, and the human mind must have risen from idolatry to theism; but this last simple

BOOK and sublime idea will always have remained imperfect and confused in the minds of the vulgar, and mixed with a multitude of errors and fancies.

REVELATION had confirmed and perfected the idea of the doctrine of the unity of God; and, perhaps, a more incorrupt religion would then have been established, had not the northern barbarians, who poured in upon the several provinces of the Roman empire, brought along with them their own sacred prejudices, which could not be dispelled but by other fables. Unfortunately Christianity was preached to men incapable of understanding it thoroughly. They would not embrace it, unless it was attended with that external pomp and shew in which ignorance delights. Interested motives burdened it, and debased it more and more with other observances, and constantly invented new doctrines and miracles, which were the more revered as they were the less credible. The nations, engaged during twelve centuries in dividing and contesting about the several provinces of an universal monarchy, which one nation had formed in less than two hundred years, admitted without examination all the errors which the priests, after much controversy, had agreed to teach the multitude.

BUT the clergy, too numerous to maintain any unanimity of opinion, had cherished the seeds of division, which must sooner or later be communicated to the people. The time came when the same spirit of ambition and avarice that actuated

ated the whole church exerted itself with great ~~BOOK~~
animosity against many superstitions that were uni- VIII.
versally adopted.

As it was from custom that the people had received all those puerile notions which they had suffered themselves to be deluded into, and that they were not attached to them from national principles or party spirit, those who were most interested in supporting them, were unable to defend them, when they were attacked with that steadiness that was calculated to fix the attention of the public. But nothing so much promoted the reformation of Luther and Calvin, as the liberty they granted to every one to examine and determine finally upon the religious principles he had been taught. Tho' the multitude was incapable of undertaking this discussion, yet every man plumed himself upon having the privilege to determine on a subject in which his most valuable and most important interests were concerned. The commotion was so universal, that the new opinions would in all probability have triumphed totally over the old, had not the magistracy thought it their interest to stem the torrent. Implicit obedience was as necessary for the support of the supreme power, as for that of religion, and was the surest foundation of its authority; that power began therefore to be alarmed lest those who had overturned the old and firm foundations of the Roman hierarchy, might next proceed to examine into its own prerogatives. The republican spirit which naturally spread itself among

BOOK among the reformed, contributed to increase this
VIII. distrust.

THE kings of Spain, more jealous of their power than other sovereigns, endeavoured to support it, by establishing a more uniform system of superstition. They were not sensible that the opinions of men concerning an unknown Being cannot be all the same. In vain did reason expostulate with those weak monarchs, alledging that no power had a right to prescribe to men what they were to think ; that society, in order to support itself, is under no necessity of restraining the freedom of the soul ; that to compel men to subscribe to certain articles of faith, is to exact a false oath, which makes a man a traitor to his conscience, in order that he may be a faithful subject ; and that a citizen who serves his country, is, in a political light, preferable to him who is orthodox to no purpose. These permanent and incontestable principles were not attended to. They were overruled by the prospect of great advantage, and still more by the furious clamours of a multitude of fanatical priests, who delayed not to assume the supreme authority. The prince, thus reduced to become their slave, was forced to abandon his subjects to their caprices ; to suffer them to be oppressed, and to become an idle spectator of the cruelty exercised against them. From that time, superstitious manners, beneficial only to the priesthood, became prejudicial to society. A people thus corrupt and degenerate, were the most cruel

of any. Their obedience to the monarch was subordinate to the will of the priest; who oppressed every other power, and was in fact the sovereign of the state.

INACTION was the necessary consequence of a superstition that enervated all the faculties of the soul. The project which the Romans formed from their very infancy of becoming masters of the world, shewed itself even in their religion. It was Victory, Bellona, Fortune, the genius of the Roman people, Rome herself that were their gods. A nation that endeavoured to imitate their example, and thought of becoming conquerors, adopted a monkish government, which has destroyed every prospect of success, and will effectually prevent their restoration either in Spain or America, unless this kind of government is totally subverted, and every idea of the horror it excites obliterated with it. The suppression of the inquisition must certainly hasten this great change; and it is a pleasing expectation to think that if the court of Madrid will not determine upon this necessary step, they will one day be compelled to it by a humane conqueror, who will insert it as the first article in a treaty of peace, that *the autos-de-fé shall be abolished in all the Spanish dominions both in Europe and America.*

THIS step is necessary towards the restoration of the monarchy, but it is not alone sufficient. Tho' Spain has employed more art to conceal her weakness, than was necessary to enable her to acquire strength,

BOOK strength, the world is not unacquainted with the
VIII. disorders she labours under. They have taken so
'deep a root and are of so inveterate a nature,
that they cannot be remedied without foreign aids.
If she will but submit to accept them, she will
soon see her provinces in both hemispheres filled
with new inhabitants, who will bring with them
numberless branches of industry. The northern and
southern nations, actuated by that passion for riches
which is the characteristic of the present age, will
resort in multitudes to the regions that are thrown
open to excite their emulation. The riches of the
public will increase in proportion to those of individ-
uals; and those which have been acquired by fo-
reigners will become a national wealth, if they are
permitted to enjoy them with that security, satis-
faction, and distinction, as to induce them to forget
their native country.

IF the Spaniards are desirous of bringing this
important plan to perfection with all possible ex-
pedition, they must not only admit strangers of
their own persuasion, but encourage every sect
without distinction to come and settle among them.
They have too long thought that liberty of con-
science was a most impious doctrine, and that tol-
eration was even prejudicial considered in a po-
litical light; because the fundamental principle
of all sects is to hate each other, and gradually to
throw those governments where their numbers are
increased into confusion. If the pagans had rea-
soned in this manner, christianity would never have
been

been established ; at least it is evident that their ~~BOOK~~ persecutions against the founders of our religion VIII. would need no apology.

WHEN the Spaniards have once procured a sufficient number of men, they will then think of employing them in the most advantageous manner. The anxiety they felt to see the treasures of America pass into the hands of their rivals and enemies, made them imagine that the revival of their manufactures was the only method that could enable them to retain part of those treasures at home. Such of their writers upon finance as have insisted upon this system, appear to us to be mistaken. As long as the people who are in possession of those manufactures which serve to supply the demands of America, will attend to the preservation of them, those which may be attempted to be established in other parts, will scarce be able to vie with them. These manufactures may possibly procure the materials and workmanship at as reasonable a rate : but some centuries must pass before they can be able to attain to the same degree of quickness and perfection in the work. Nothing could effect this great change, but such a revolution as would remove the best foreign workmen and the most skilful artists to Spain. Till this period arrives, which does not seem very near, any attempts that are made, will not be successful. The prohibition to prevent the exportation of unwrought commodities affords a convincing and instructive proof of this. The goodness

BOOKS of silks has on this account, considerably decreased; and the manufacture of them begun to be neglected, and would have been entirely lost, had not government prudently restored trade to its ancient freedom.

We may proceed still further, and venture to affirm, that though it should be in the power of Spain to procure a superiority in the manufactures respecting articles of luxury, she ought not to do it. A transient success would be productive of total ruin. Let us suppose that Spain can furnish all the commodities that are wanted in her colonies; the immense treasures this trade will bring in, will all center in home circulation, and the consequence will be, that the coin will sink in value. This plenty of specie will certainly occasion a dearness of provisions, and enhance the price of labour. There will be no proportion between the price Spain must require for her manufactures, and that which the neighbouring nations will sell theirs for. These, being able to afford their commodities cheaper, will oblige the Spaniards to take them, because an exorbitant profit will surmount every obstacle. The Spanish artificers, destitute of employment, will be reduced to the necessity of seeking for it in other places, and Spain will lose both her industry and her population.

SINCE then it is impossible that the Spaniards should keep the whole produce of the American mines in their own hands, and since they must unavoidably share it with the rest of Europe, they should

should exert all their policy to preserve the greatest ~~book~~
part of it, to make the balance incline in their fa- VIII.
vor, and to render their advantages permanent,
they must be satisfied with such as are moderate.
They will secure to themselves such a superiority
by the practice of the necessary arts, and the plen-
ty and goodness of their natural productions.

THE Spanish ministry have been sensible of this truth, but have been deceived in the opinion they entertained that the manufactures were the chief promoters of agriculture. It is certain, however, that they contribute to promote the culture of lands. They are even necessary, wherever the expence of transport puts a stop to the circulation and consumption of the produce, so that the cultivator is at a loss how to dispose of his commodities. But in all other cases, the farmer can succeed without the assistance of manufactures. If he can but dispose of his produce, he is under no concern whether it is for local consumption, or for trade and exportation, and will go on with his tillage.

SPAIN annually sells for exportation, in wool, silk, oil, wine, iron and kali, to the amount of above thirty millions of livres.* These exports, most of which cannot be replaced from any soil in Europe, may be greatly increased, and might, probably, be more than doubled. They will be sufficient, independent of what the Spaniards receive from the Indies, to pay for all the foreign goods that can be consumed

* 1,312,500L

~~BOOK~~ consumed in the nation. We grant that by thus VIII. sending their unwrought produce to other countries, they will increase their population, wealth, and power; but they will promote a more certain and more beneficial kind of industry at home. Their political influence will soon claim a relative superiority, and the nation employed in agriculture will soon become greater than that which confines itself to manufactures.

AMERICA will greatly increase these advantages; and will be beneficial to Spain, both by her gold and silver, and by her commodities.

IT appears from the most moderate computation, that those valuable colonies have remitted to the mother country, from 1492 to 1740, that is, in the compass of 248 years, upwards of 9000,000,000 piastras,* the smallest part of which has remained to the natural owners; the rest has been diffused all over Europe; or carried into Asia. From the first of January 1754 to the last day of December 1764, we are not reduced to conjecture in support of our opinion. Within that period, Spain has received,

FROM Vera Cruz, in gold, 3,151,354 piastras 5 reals †; and in silver, 85,899,307 piastras 2 reals. ‡

FROM Lima, in gold, 10,942,846 piastras 3 reals §; in silver, 24,868,745 piastras 3 reals ||.

FROM

* 2,025,000,000l.

† 709,054l. 15s. 1d.

** 29,327,344l. 2s. 2d.

§ 2,462,140l. 8s. 9d.

|| 5,595,467l. 1s. 3d.

FROM Buenos Ayres, in gold, 2,142,626 piastres 3 reals*; in silver, 10,326,090 piastres 8 reals†.

FROM Carthagena, in gold, 10,045,188 piastres 8 reals‡; in silver, 1,702,174 piastres 3 reals§.

FROM Honduras, in gold, 37,254 piastres 9 reals||; in silver, 677,444 piastres 7 reals¶.

FROM the Havannah, in gold, 656,064 piastres 3 reals**; in silver, 2,639,408 piastres 2 reals§‡.

FROM Caracca, in gold, 52,034 piastres 4 reals†¶; in silver, 276,002 piastres 6 reals‡*.

FROM St. Domingo and Porto Rico, in gold, 526 piastres 5 reals§†; in silver, 317,521 piastres 1 real*¶.

FROM Campeachy, Cumana and Maracaibo, in gold, 91,564 piastres 6 reals†§.

THIS makes in all 27,027,896 piastres in gold‡||, and 126,798,258 piastres 8 reals ¶§ in silver. These two sums together, amount to a total of 153,826,154 piastres 8 reals*§. This sum divided by eleven, will shew that the returns, upon an average, have been 13,984,185 piastres and 3 fourshs¶||. To all these riches must be ad-

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ded

* 482,090l. 18s. 9d.

† 2,323,370l. 9s. 8d.

‡ 2,260,165l. 8s.

§ 382,989l. 4s. 9d.

|| 8,382l. 8s. 3d.

¶ 152,425l. 2s. 1d.

*|| 147,614l. 9s. 9d.

‡§ 593,866l. 17s. 2d.

†¶ 11,707l. 15s. 4d.

†* 62,100l. 12s. 6d.

§† 118l. 9s. 1d.

*¶ 71,442l. 5s. 1d.

†§ 20,602l. 18. 6d.

|| 6,081,276l. 7s.

¶§ 28,529,608l. 5s. 8d.

*§ 34,610,834l. 12s. 8d.

†|| 3,146,441l. 19s.

BOOK ded those that are not registered to avoid paying
VIII. duty, which may amount to somewhat more than
one fourth of what is registered ; and it will ap-
pear that the mother country annually receives
from her colonies about seventeen millions of pi-
astres, or 19,250,000 livres*.

THERE would be a possibility of increasing this
produce. For this purpose the government should
send over to America some persons skilled in me-
tallurgy, and make the condition easier on which
they allow the working of the mines. But this
would be only a transient advantage, since it is un-
deniable that gold and silver are not to be con-
sidered as riches, but only as the representatives
of them. These signs are indeed very durable, as
they ought to be to answer their destination. But
the more they are multiplied, the more they lose
of their value, because they serve to represent
fewer things. In proportion as they are become
more common since the discovery of America,
every thing is increased in value twice, thrice, and
four times beyond what it was before. The pro-
duce of the mines has constantly decreased, and
the expence of working them has been continually
greater. The balance, which inclines more and
more to the losing side, may so far destroy the
equipoise, that it may be found necessary to drop
this source of wealth. But at all events, it will be
adviseable to render these operations more simple,
and to try every possible method to make this la-
bour

* About 3,904,600L

hour less destructive to the human race than it has B O O K hitherto been. There is another source of prosperity for Spain, which will be so far from decreasing, that it will daily gather new strength ; and that is agriculture.

ALL nations have found it dangerous to allow the establishments of manufactures in their possessions in America, but they have all encouraged agriculture by every possible means. If Spain should adopt so rational a principle, she will probably save twelve or thirteen millions of livres* that are annually expended in the single article of spices. It is hardly possible that in all that vast extent of land and that variety of climates there should not be some Spots in America fit for the culture of cinnamon, cloves, nutmeg, and the other aromatic productions of Asia. It is certain that cinnamon grows at Quito, and cultivation might give it the properties it wants.

WHETHER these experiments succeed or not, coffee may certainly be cultivated there, the use of which becomes daily more general in Europe ; as well as cotton, to supply the frequent demands of our manufactures ; and sugars, which Spain buys to the amount of above five millions† a year, while she ought to supply all Europe with it.

MANY provinces of Mexico formerly produced excellent silks, which were manufactured at Seville. This produce, however, has been lost, by

BOOK the numberless obstructions it has met with; but
VIII. it might easily be revived and improved.

THE Vicuna wool is in great repute in all nations. The quantity which the fleets bring home, is far from being sufficient to answer the demands for it. The sort of sheep that bears this fine wool, might easily be multiplied in the climates that are fittest for them.

THE excessive dearness of cochineal, and the great demand there is for it every where, points out to Spain the necessity of multiplying it.

BUT the cultivation of the vine and the olive tree, which is allowed only in one part of Peru, should be principally encouraged. Some small wandering nations might be fixed by employing them in this labour. If they were properly distributed, they would serve to establish an intercourse between the several colonies, now separated by immense and uninhabited regions. The laws, which never have any power over men who are at too great a distance from each other and from the magistrate, could then be enforced. Commerce would not be perpetually interrupted by the impossibility of conveying the goods to the place of their destination, even at a great expence. In case of a war, early notice would be given of the danger, and speedy and effectual assistance procured. If Spain were by this plan deprived of some few exports this trifling loss would be greatly overbalanced by very considerable advantages. The easiest part of the labour we recommend would fall

fall to the lot of the natives, who are too indolent, **B O O K** and, perhaps, too weak, to go through harder **VIII.** work. The rest would be reserved for the more active robust African slaves.

THIS foreign aid was thought of in the first years after the discovery of America, but was soon prohibited from an apprehension that the blacks corrupted the Americans, and might excite them to revolt. Las Casas, who incessantly laboured to promote the happiness of the Indians, obtained a repeal of that law, as thinking it prejudicial to their preservation. At that period, a favourite obtained an exclusive grant for carrying four thousand negroes to the Caribbee islands. He sold his privilege to the Genoese, who made an ill use of their monopoly. This scandalous trade was successively in the hands of the Castilians, the Portuguese, the French, and the English. It is at last returned to the Spaniards, who carry it on in the least advantageous way for the benefit of their country. Their most dangerous enemies become their agents, and all their connections are with British subjects.

If political considerations can justify a trade so repugnant to humanity, Spain ought to carry it on without the assistance of foreign countries; and must not be discouraged by the want of forts on the coast of Africa. This obstacle may be surmounted by receiving directly from the East-Indies the commodities that are fit for the barbarous regions of Africa; by giving bounties to encourage the in-

~~BOOK~~ production of negroes in the Spanish colonies,
 VIII. instead of clogging it with duties. Then those
 countries, which have for so long a time been in a
 declining state will flourish again ; and their produc-
 tions, which at present do not exceed twenty-
 seven or twenty-eight millions of livres* a year,
 will then be extended as much as the consump-
 tion of Spain and of all Europe will admit them
 to be.

WHEN government has successfully turned its
 attention towards bringing the working of the
 mines to a greater degree of perfection, and to
 the improvement of agriculture in the American
 provinces, it will then be necessary to consider how
 these riches may be transmitted to the mother-
 country. Experience must have taught her that
 the vigilance of her guarda costas, and the fidelity
 of her commanders are often and easily eluded by
 the contraband trade.

ALL the nations whose settlements are near the
 Spanish colonies, have always endeavoured, by
 fraudulent means, to appropriate to themselves
 the treasures and produce of that indolent nation.
 The Portuguese have turned their views towards
 the river Plata ; the Danes, the French, and the
 Dutch, upon the coast of Cartagena and Porto-
 Bello. The subjects of Great Britain, who were
 not ignorant of these different means have found
 that the cessions made to them by the last treaty,
 have opened to them a new method of getting a
 larger

* On an average 1,283,125L

larger share of those rich spoils. All these nations ~~B O O K~~ have succeeded in their attempts, by deceiving or ~~VIII.~~ bribing the guarda costas ; but the English, sure of being countenanced by government, have carried on in full peace, and by force of arms an illicit trade in foreign countries, which in their own is punished with death. This kind of trade is so openly authorised by their naval force, that there is actually a public contract between the navy and the merchants, by which the man of war is entitled to five per cent. on the sale made by the smuggler, as a reward for protecting him.

THE governors are still more remiss in their duty than the guarda costas. Though corruption is carried to very great excess in Spain, it is still greater in the Indies. The viceroys as well as the lowest custom-house officers, who are sent to America, are all equally destitute of the smallest sentiments of patriotism. They have all bought their places ; and are desirous of making the greatest advantage of them ; every one is in haste to make his fortune, the only motive that induced him to leave his country ; all want to have an adequate compensation for the danger they have exposed themselves to by a change of climate. It is necessary for them to improve every instant of time, as they seldom keep their places longer than three or five years. One would imagine the court of Madrid, not being able to prevent this extortion, has endeavoured to render it less odious, by making it more general.

BOOK VIII. **E**VERY mode of acquiring riches is deemed lawful. The most common is to permit the contraband trade, and even to be concerned in it. It is easy, expeditious and pleasant. In America none oppose it, because it suits every person. If the complaints of some European merchants reach the court, they are easily silenced by proper gratuities to ministers, confessors, mistresses or favourites. The delinquent not only escapes punishment, but is rewarded. Nothing is so well established or so generally known as this practice. A Spaniard just returned from America, where he had filled an important post, was complaining to a friend of the injurious reports that were spread concerning the discharge of his trust. *If you are slandered, says his friend, you are undone; but if your extortions are not exaggerated, you have nothing to do but to give up part of your plunder, and you will enjoy the remainder peaceably, and even with credit.*

THE question is how to eradicate abuses of such a long standing. As long as the management that has given rise to them subsists, the smuggler will carry on his trade, and those who are appointed to prevent it will protect him. Spain will never restore good order, but by lowering the duties, and altering her method of intercourse with her colonies.

THE Spaniards, whose situation will not admit of their manufacturing all they want to supply their American colonies, must appropriate to themselves the labours of every nation in Europe. They must

must consider themselves as merchants in the midst ~~B O O K~~ VIII. of manufacturers. They must supply them with materials; pay them a reasonable price for their labour, by making a proper allowance for the additional value their industry has given to the natural productions; and then they must dispose of them to the best advantage to the several consumers.

THESE maxims are too simple in themselves to have escaped them; but they have made a wrong application of them. That they have always been misled by their wants or their avidity of gain. They have constantly separated the interests of the crown from those of the people, and, therefore have found no impropriety in laying the duties too high. None of their ministers seem to have considered, that the riches of the people are the true riches of the state. Possibly, they may have been so infatuated as to imagine, that the burden of these duties fell upon the original owners of the merchandise. We can hardly doubt their acting upon this principle, when we see that every intimation for lowering the duties has been rejected, as ruinous to the monarchy. That pernicious spirit of finance, which daily becomes more injurious to the trade of Europe, has checked the direct intercourse that was formerly carried on between the mother country and her colonies. The contraband trade has increased in proportion as the duties have been raised; but it will be put an end to, whenever the tariff is settled at a moderate rate, and

BOOK and navigation is freed from those fetters which
VIII. obstruct its progress.

Those who are of opinion that the common method of fleets and galleons is the best, have been misled by their prejudices in favour of custom, which is so apt to govern the opinions of most men. They were not aware that this tedious method would necessarily prove destructive. The illicit traders, informed by their emissaries of the wants of the colonies, and abundantly provided with all they can be in need of, always arrive before the Spanish ships, who, finding the storehouses full, are forced to sell their goods under prime cost ; or, which is still worse, cannot dispose of them at all. If, to prevent this inconvenience, they are sent out later, this is an additional encouragement to the smugglers, whose magazines being constantly supplied with fresh merchandise, can never be exhausted.

To prevent this destructive competition, it has often been proposed to the Spanish government to establish trading companies for the commerce of America ; but the court of Madrid has always rejected this scheme, as a pernicious monopoly, worse, perhaps, than the toleration of an illicit trade. Though ignorant of the true principles of commerce, they were sensible that exclusive privileges, always prejudicial even to the most active nations, must necessarily prove ruinous to one, whose industry is not sufficiently excited.

IN THE EAST AND WEST INDIES.

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NOTHING but an entire freedom in the trade book from Cadiz, can put an effectual stop to smuggling, and give commerce the advantage of being extended as far as possible. It is the interest of Spain, as well as of all other nations that have colonies in America, to send thither great quantities of the produce and commodities of Europe, and to bring home much of those of America. These measures are inseparably connected. The one is impossible without the other, and both are inconsistent with restraint.

THE colonies will find a great advantage in this system, which will bring plenty into their ports. A competition among many sellers has ever been and will always be advantageous to the purchaser.

By this happy change, the mother country will silence the murmurs of some persons, who have grown discontented either because they have been left unprovided with the necessities of life, or have been forced to pay an extravagant price for them. The cheapness of commodities will occasion the fall of some manufactures, which had been established from mere necessity, and which could not be safely abolished by authority. Spain will turn the labours of industry towards agriculture, which will then become, as it ought to be, the most profitable employment. Lastly, her navigation will be increased twice or three times beyond its present state, for it is now so slow in its operations, as to endanger public property, and too often expose it to fall into the hands of an enemy.

A 1

BOOK ALL the European nations that are in the least
VIII. concerned in this trade, will carry it on to better
~~way~~ advantage. If the method of doing this by a fleet
of ships, which limits the quantity of goods that
may be shipped at Cadiz, is more favourable to
the few merchants concerned in that business, a
freedom to every one to send over as much as he
pleases, on paying the duties, will reduce the price
and increase the consumption of the commodities.
Trade will then be considerably increased in Eu-
rope. The profit of each nation will be greater,
though that of each private man will be less. The
first of these advantages is infinitely preferable to
the last.

We are sensible that this free trade, which we
think absolutely necessary, will no sooner be open-
ed, but it will be carried to excess by a boundless
emulation. This must be expected from the eager-
ness and imprudence of the merchants. Perhaps,
it may be beneficial. The mother country will have
exported a greater quantity of her produce, and
received richer returns. The colonists, encouraged
by the cheapness of the commodities, will allow
themselves some indulgencies they never could yet
afford, will feel new wants, and consequently
will apply themselves to new labours. Traders,
warned by the loss of part of their capital, will
become more industrious, circumspect, and di-
gent in their expeditions. Even admitting that too
great a competition might prove a real evil, it
could never be a lasting one. To endeavour to
pre-

prevent this by laws that would be destructive of **B O O K**
all freedom, would be to prevent a fortunate re- VIII.
volution by a perpetual oppression. As soon as
Spain is undeceived, the trade of her colonies
will no longer be a mere monopoly, her religion
mere superstition, nor her government an absolute
tyranny. Her good example, and a happy rival-
ship, may, possibly, induce Portugal, whose con-
duct has not hitherto appeared more enlightened
than that of Spain, to adopt the same plan of re-
formation, with regard to the Brazils.

END OF THE EIGHTH Book.

B O O K

BOOK IX.

Settlement of the Portuguese in the Brazils. The wars they have sustained there. Produce and riches of that country.

BOOk **B**RAZIL is an immense continent in South America. It is bounded on the north by the river ^{Discovery of the Bra-} Amazons, on the south by Paraguay, on ^{zil} by the west by a long ridge of mountains that divide ^{Portuguese.} it from Peru, and on the east^{*} by the northern ocean. The extent of the sea-coast is supposed to be no less than twelve hundred leagues. The inland parts are too little known to enable us to form any estimate of their extent. A succession of hills runs all along from north to south, from whence issue many large rivers, some of which fall into the ocean, and some into the Plata.

IF Columbus, in his third voyage in 1499, had continued his course to the south, when he came to the entrance of the Oronoko, he could not possibly have missed the Brazils; but he chose to steer

steer to the north-west, towards the gulph that ~~BOOK~~
lies between that river and Florida. The settle- IX.
ments already made there, the gold they produc-
ed, and the hopes of finding a way to the East
Indies, were so many inducements to pursue that
track.

PETER ALVAREZ CABRAL had the honour of discovering the Brazils the following year by chance. This Portuguese admiral was going with a fleet beyond the Cape of Good Hope. To avoid falling in with the calms on the coast of Africa, he kept so far out at sea, that he came within sight of an unknown land lying to westward. He was driven thither by stress of weather, and anchored on the coast in the 15th degree of south latitude, at a place which he called Porto-Seguro. He took possession of the country, but made no settlement in it, and gave it the name of Santa Cruz, which was afterwards changed for that of Brazil, because the Brazil wood was the most valuable production of that country to the Europeans, who used it in dying.

As this country had been discovered in going to India, and it was doubtful whether it was not a part of that, it was at first comprised under the same general title, but was distinguished by the appellation of West Indies, because the Portuguese went to India by the east, and to the Brazils by the west. This name was afterwards given to all America, and the Americans were very improperly called Indians.

Thus

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BOOK IX. **T**HUS it is that the names of places and things, accidentally given by ignorant men, have always perplexed philosophers, who have been desirous of tracing the origin of these names from nature, and not from circumstances merely incidental, and oftentimes quite foreign to the natural properties of the things denoted by them. Nothing can be more strange, for instance, than to see Europe transplanted into America, and there regenerated as it were, in the names and forms of our European cities, and in the laws, manners, and religion of our continent. But sooner or later the climate will resume its influence, and reinstate things in their proper order and with their original names, though with those vestiges of the change they have undergone, which a great revolution always leaves behind it. Is it not probable that in three or four thousand years hence, the history of America at this present period will be as confused, and as inexplicable to its inhabitants, as the history of Europe previous to the rise of the Roman republic is obscure to us? Thus it is that men, the knowledge they have acquired, and the conjectures they have formed either with respect to events that are passed, or to future transactions, are all subject to the laws and motions of nature, who pursues her own course, without paying the least regard either to our projects or to our opinions.

NOTHING can afford us a more convincing proof of this great truth, than the imprudence and uncertainty

certainty of all the designs and actions of men took even in their most important undertakings, the ^{IX.}
blindness with which their inquiries are pursued, and more especially the improper use they make of their discoveries. As soon as the court of Lisbon had ordered a survey to be taken of the harbours, bays, rivers, and coasts of Brazil, and was convinced that the country afforded neither gold nor silver, they held it in such contempt that they sent thither none but condemned criminals and abandoned women.

Two ships were sent every year from Portugal, ^{Account of the first} to carry the refuse of the kingdom to this new world, and to bring home parrots, and woods for the dyers and cabinet-makers. Ginger was afterwards added, but was soon prohibited, lest it should interfere with the sale of the same article from India. ^{sent by Portugal to the Brazils.}

ASIA was then the object that attracted all men. It was the road to fortune, to power and to fame. The great exploits of the Portuguese in India, and the wealth they brought from thence, gave their nation such a superiority in all parts of the world, that every individual wished to partake of it. The enthusiasm was general. No person, indeed, went over voluntarily to America, but those unfortunate men whom the inquisition had doomed to destruction were added to the convicts already transported thither.

THERE never was a stronger, and more inveterate hatred than that which the Portuguese have

BOOK always entertained against the Spaniards. Notwithstanding this national antipathy, which is of so long a standing that its origin cannot be traced, and so confirmed that it can never be expected to cease, they have borrowed most of their maxims from a neighbour, whose power they dreaded as much as they detested its manners. Whether from a similarity of climate and temper, or from a conformity of circumstances, they have adopted the worst of its institutions. They could not imitate any one more horrid than the inquisition.

THIS bloody tribunal, erected in Spain in 1482, by a combination of policy and fanaticism, under the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, was no sooner adopted by John III, than it struck terror into every family. To establish its authority, and afterwards to support it, no less than four or five hundred victims were annually sacrificed, a tenth part of which was burnt alive, and the rest banished to Africa or to the Brazils. The fury of this tribunal was particularly exerted against those who were suspected of sodomy ; a crime of later date in the kingdom, and almost unavoidable in hot climates, where celibacy prevails. It also prosecuted sorcerers, who, in those times of ignorance were as much dreaded, as their number was multiplied by the credulity, bigotry, and barbarism that prevailed all over Europe. The Mohammedans, though greatly decreased since they had lost the empire, were also persecuted by the inquisition ; but

but more especially the Jews, because they were B O O K
the richest.

IX.

IT is well known that when the Jews, who had long been confined to a very small spot upon the face of the earth, were dispersed by the Romans, many of them took refuge in Portugal. There they multiplied after the Arabs had conquered Spain, were suffered to enjoy all the rights of citizens, and were not excluded from public offices, till that country had recovered its independence. This first act of oppression did not prevent twenty thousand Jewish families from removing thither, when after the conquest of Granada, the catholic kings compelled them to quit Spain or change their religion. Each family paid twenty livres* for the liberty of settling in Portugal. Superstition soon induced John II. to aggravate the sufferings of that persecuted nation : he demanded of them 20,000 crowns†, and afterwards reduced them to a state of slavery. In 1496, Emanuel banished all those who refused to embrace the christian religion ; those who complied were restored to their freedom, and soon engrossed the Asiatic trade, which then began to be laid open to every one. The establishment of the inquisition in 1548, proved a check to their activity. Their mistrust was increased by the frequent confiscations made by that odious tribunal, and by the taxes which government extorted from them at different times. They were in hopes of purchasing some

K 2

trait-

* 47s. 6d.

† 2,625L

BOOK tranquillity, by furnishing Sebastian with 250,000
IX. livres * for his African expedition; but unfortunately for them, that imprudent monarch came to an untimely end. Philip II. who soon after extended his dominion over Portugal, enacted that such of his subjects as were descended from a Jew or a Moor, should be excluded from all ecclesiastical or civil employments. This mark of infamy, with which all the new converts to Christianity were branded, gave them such a disgust for a country where even the greatest opulence could not exempt them from being stigmatized, that they removed with their wealth to Bourdeaux, Antwerp, Hamburgh, and other towns with which they had regular connections. This emigration was the occasion of a great revolution; it diverted the commerce, which till then had centered in Spain and Portugal, into other countries, and deprived those two nations of the advantages the one derived from the East, and the other from the West-Indies.

BEFORE these last periods, the Jews who had been stripped of their property by the inquisition, and banished to the Brazils, were not yet entirely forsaken. Many of them found kind relations and faithful friends; others, who were known to be men of probity and understanding, obtained money in advance from merchants of different nations with whom they had formerly had transactions. By this assistance some enterprising men among them

were

* About 10,940l.

were enabled to cultivate sugar canes, which they ~~book~~ first procured from the island of Madeira. IX.

SUGAR, which till then on account of its scarcity had been used only in medicine, became an article of luxury. Princes, and the rich and great, were all eager to procure themselves this new species of indulgence. This circumstance proved favourable to Brazil, and enabled it to extend its sugar plantations. The court of Lisbon, notwithstanding its prejudices, began to be sensible that a colony might be beneficial to the mother country, without producing gold or silver. It now looked with less contempt on an immense region that chance had thrown in its way, and which it had always considered as a place fit only to contain the refuse of the kingdom. This settlement, which had been wholly left to the capricious management of the colonists, was now thought to deserve some kind of attention, and accordingly Thomas de Sousa was sent thither in 1549, to regulate and superintend it.

THIS able governor began by reducing these men, who had always lived in a state of anarchy, into proper subordination, and bringing their scattered plantations closer together; after which, he applied himself to acquire some information respecting the natives, with whom he knew he must be incessantly engaged, either in traffic or in war. It was no easy matter to accomplish this.

BRAZIL was full of small nations, some of which inhabited the forests, and others lived in the plains

BOOK and along the rivers. Some had settled habitations^a but a greater number led a roving life. Most of them had no intercourse with each other. Those that were not divided by incessant wars, were so by hereditary hatred and jealousy. Some lived by hunting and fishing, others by agriculture. All these causes must have produced a visible difference in the employments and customs of these several nations ; yet their general character was very similar.

Character and customs of the Europeans, but not so stout. The are subject to Brazilians, THE Brazilians in general are of the size of the Europeans, but not so stout. The are subject to fewer distempers, and it is no uncommon thing among them to see men live upwards of a hundred years. Formerly they wore no clothing, but since the Europeans have become acquainted with them, they commonly cover the middle part of their bodies. The ornaments of the women differ from those of the men, for they wear their hair extremely long, whereas the women cut theirs quite short ; the women wear bracelets of bones of a beautiful white, the men necklaces of the same ; the women paint their faces, and the men their bodies.

THOUGH the language of the Topinambous is generally spoken all along the sea-coasts, yet every nation on that vast continent has its own peculiar idiom. Some of these languages are said to be expressive, but they are none of them copious, neither have they any words to convey general and abstract ideas. This poverty of language, which

is common to all nations of South America, is a book convincing proof of the little progress the human understanding has made in these countries. The analogy between the words in the several languages of this continent shews that the reciprocal transmigrations of these savages have been frequent. Possibly by comparing their languages with those of Africa, of the East-Indies and of Europe, the origin of the Americans may one day be traced, after the long and fruitless search, which has hitherto employed the labours of so many learned men.

In ancient times the food of the Brazilians was very simple. It might have been expected to have been more varied when they came to be acquainted with our domestic animals; yet those who live by the sea side still continue to feed upon the shell-fish they pick up on the shore. Along the rivers they always live by fishing, and in the forests by hunting. When these precarious provisions fail, they feed upon roots, that either grow spontaneously, or require but little culture.

THESE savages are averse from all labour, and pass their time in idleness, eating and dancing. Their songs are but one tedious uniform tone, without any modulations, and commonly turn upon their loves or their warlike actions.

THEIR amusements are not interrupted by the worship of a supreme being, for they know of none; nor is their tranquillity disturbed by the dread of a future state, of which they have no idea. They have, however, their magicians, who,

BOOK by strange contortions, so far work upon the credulity of the people as to throw them into violent convulsions. If the impostures of these magicians are detected, they are immediately put to death, which serves in some degree to check the spirit of deceit.

THESE atheists are equally strangers to all notions of subordination and submission, which among ourselves are originally derived from the idea of a supreme being. They cannot conceive that any person can have the audacity to command, much less that any one can be so weak as to obey. But they shew most deference to the man who has killed the greatest number of his enemies.

THE Brazilians all follow their own inclinations, and like most other savages, shew no particular attachment to their native place. The love of our country, which is a ruling passion in civilized states; which in good governments rises to enthusiasm, and in bad ones grows habitual; which for whole centuries together perpetuates in every nation its disposition, customs and taste: this love of our country is but a factitious sentiment arising from society, but unknown in the state of nature. The moral life of a savage is the very reverse of that of the civilized man. The latter enjoys the gifts of nature only in his infancy. As his strength increases and his understanding unfolds itself, he loses sight of the present, and is wholly intent upon the future. Thus the age of passions and pleasures, the time destined by nature for enjoyment,

ment, is spent in speculation and disappointment. **B O O K -**
The heart denies itself what it wishes for, laments **I X .**
the indulgencies it has allowed itself, and is equal-
ly tormented by its self-denials and its gratifica-
tions. The civilized man incessantly deplores
his liberty which he has always sacrificed, looks
back with regret on his earliest years, when a suc-
cession of new objects constantly awakened his cu-
riosity, and kept his hopes alive. He recollects
with pleasure the spot where he passed his infant
days; the remembrance of his innocent delights
endears them to his imagination, and forcibly at-
tracts him to his native spot: whereas the savage,
who enjoys all the pleasures and advantages pecu-
liar to every period of his life, and does not ab-
stain from them in expectation of greater indul-
gence in old age, finds equally in all places objects
suited to his desires, and feels that the source of
his pleasures is in himself, and that his country is
every where.

THOUGH the tranquillity of the Brazilians is not the result of any laws, dissentions are seldom heard of in their little societies. If drunkenness, or some unfortunate incident should occasion a dispute, and some life should be lost, the murderer is instantly delivered up to the relations of the deceased, who immediately sacrifice him to their vengeance without hesitation; then both the families meet, and their reconciliation is sealed by a joyous and noisy feast.

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BOOK EVERY Brazilian takes as many wives as he pleases, or as many as he can get, and puts them away when he is tired of them. When they violate their marriage vow, they are punished with death, and the husband does not become an object of ridicule on account of the injury his wife has done him. When the women lie in, they keep their bed but a day or two; then the mother hanging the child to her neck in a cotton scarf, returns to her usual occupations without any kind of inconvenience.

TRAVELLERS are received with distinguished marks of civility in the Brazils. Wherever they come, they are surrounded with women, who wash their feet, and welcome them with the most obliging expressions. Nothing is spared for their entertainment; but it would be an unpardonable affront, were they to leave the family where they were first entertained, in hopes of better accommodation in another. This spirit of hospitality is one of the most certain indications that man was intended for society: it is the most valuable disposition of the savage nations; and the point where the improvement of policy, and of all social institutions ought, perhaps, to rest.

THE Brazilians assist one another in sickness with more than brotherly kindness and affection. If one of them receives a wound, his neighbour immediately comes and sucks it, and performs every other office of humanity with the same readiness. They do not neglect the use of the healing

ing plants that grow in their forests; but they ~~soon~~ trust more to abstinence than to medicine, and never allow their sick to taste any food.

FAR from shewing that indifference or weakness which makes us shun the dead, and makes us unwilling to speak of them, or to remain in the places that might recall their image to our minds; these savages behold their dead with tender emotions, recount their exploits with complacency, and celebrate their virtues with transport. They are buried upright in a round grave; and if the deceased was the head of a family, his plumes, his necklaces and his arms are interred with him. When a clan removes to another place, which often happens merely for the sake of changing, every family fixes some remarkable stones over the graves of their most respectable relations, and they never approach those monuments of grief without breaking out into dreadful outcries, not unlike the shouts with which they make the air resound when they are going to battle.

MOTIVES of interest or ambition have never prompted the Brazilians to war. The desire of avenging their relations or friends, has always been the occasion of their most sanguinary contests. Their chiefs, or rather their orators, are old men, who determine the commencement of hostilities, give the signal for marching, and exert themselves during the march, in repeated expressions of implacable hatred. Sometimes even the march of the army is suspended to listen to these

passionate

BOOK passionate harangues, that last for many hours.

IX. This custom makes those long speeches we meet with in Homer, and in the Roman historians appear more probable; but in those days, the noise of the artillery did not drown the voices of the generals.

THE combatants are armed with a club of ebony, six feet long, one foot broad, and an inch thick. Their bows and arrows are of the same wood. Their instruments of martial music are flutes made of the bones of their enemies. They are equally calculated to inspire courage, as our drums, which stifle our sense of danger, and as our trumpets, which give the signal, and, perhaps, the fear of death. Their generals are the soldiers who have distinguished themselves most in former wars.

WHEN the aggressor arrives on the enemy's frontiers, the women who carry the provisions halt, while the warriors advance through the woods. The attack is never made openly. They conceal themselves at some distance from the habitations, that they may have the advantage of a surprise on their enemies. When it is dark, they set fire to the huts, and avail themselves of the confusion this occasions, to satisfy their fury that knows no bounds. Those who cannot avoid coming to open fight, divide into platoons and lie in ambush. If they are discovered and routed by superior forces, they hide themselves in the deepest recesses of the woods. Their courage seldom consists in maintaining their ground.

THE ambition of the Brazilians is to make a book great many prisoners. These are brought home to the conqueror's village, where they are slain and eaten with solemnity. The feasts lasts a long time, and during the continuance of it, the old men exhort the young to become intrep'd warriors, that they may extend the glory of their nation, and often procure themselves such an honourable repast. This inclination for human flesh is never so prevalent as to induce the Brazilians to devour such of their enemies as have fallen in battle ; they only eat those who have been taken alive, and afterwards put to death with certain ceremonies. It should seem that the spirit of revenge alone could give a taste for food which human nature abhors.

THE treatment of prisoners of war has varied according to the degree of perfection human reason has gradually attained. The most civilized nations ransom them, exchange or restore them at the conclusion of a war. Nations that are not yet completely civilized, claim them as their property, and make them slaves. The common savages massacre them without putting them to torture. The most savage people of all, torture, kill, and eat them. This is their law of nations.

THIS anthropophagy, however, is sometimes a kind of malady or taste, that seizes some individuals even among the mildest savages. These species of assassins, or lunatics, whichever we please to call them, withdraw from their hord, and lurk alone in so ne corner of a forest, where they lie in

BOOK in wait for the passenger, as huntmen or savages
ix. do for game, drag him in, kill and devour him.

WHEN this disposition is not a malady, the tasting of human flesh in the sacrifices made of prisoners, and a habit of indolence, may be reckoned among the causes of this private anthropophagy. The civilized man lives by labour, and the savage by the chace. Among us, stealing is the readiest and easiest way of acquiring. Among the savages, killing a man, and eating him if his flesh is good, is the easiest way of hunting. A man is much sooner killed than an animal. Among us, an indolent man wants money, and will not take the pains to earn it. Among the savages, an indolent man wants to eat, and will not take the pains to go a hunting; and the same vice leads both to the same crime; for in all countries laziness is a consumer of men; and in this view, anthropophagy is still more common in society than in the forests of America. If ever we have an opportunity of examining those among the savages who are addicted to anthropophagy, we shall find them weak, cowardly, lazy, and given up to the same vices as our murderers and vagrants are.

We know that if opulence is the parent of vice, poverty is the parent of crimes; and this principle holds as true in the forests as in cities. The opulence of a savage consists in plenty of game; his poverty in a scarcity of it. Now, the crimes that poverty tempts men to commit are theft and murder.

der. The civilized man robs and murders that he ~~book~~
may live ; the savage kills that he may eat. ix.

When this disposition is a malady, the physician will inform us that a savage may be affected with canine hunger, as well as a civilized man. If the savage is weak, and has not strength to go through the fatigue of procuring a sufficiency to satisfy his hunger, what will he be induced to do ? He will kill his neighbour and eat him. He is able to hunt but for a certain time, but the cravings of his appetite are continual.

THERE are numberless disorders and natural defects, which are either attended with no ill consequence, or produce quite contrary effects in society, but which must unavoidably conduce to anthropophagy in a savage, whose sole property is his life.

ALL the moral defects which lead the social man to theft, must lead the savage to the famine ; now, the only theft a savage is tempted to commit, is on the life of another whom he thinks fit to eat.

In the Brazils, the heads of the dead are carefully preserved, and shewn to all strangers as monuments of valour and victory. The heroes of those savage nations bear their exploits imprinted on their limbs, by incisions which command respect from their countrymen. These are no golden or silken ornaments that an enemy can deprive them of. They account it an honour to have been disfigured in battle. In those regions,

BOOK a man rises in esteem the more he is covered with
IX. blood.

SUCH manners did not dispose the Brazilians to submit to the joke which the Portuguese wanted to impose upon them on their first arrival. At first, they only declined all intercourse with these strangers; but finding they were pursued in order to be made slaves, and to be employed in the labours of the field, they took the resolution to murder and devour all the Europeans they could seize upon. The friends and relations of the savages that were taken prisoners also ventured to make frequent attempts to rescue them, and were sometimes successful. This brought on an increase of enemies against the Portuguese, who were forced to attend to the double employments of labour and war.

Success of Sousa did not bring forces sufficient to change the situation of affairs. Indeed, by building San the Brazils. Salvador, he gave a center to the colony, but the honour of settling, extending, and making it really useful to the mother country, was reserved to the Jesuits who attended him. Those intrepid men, who have always been prompted by motives of religion or of ambition to undertake great actions, dispersed themselves among the Indians. Such of these missionaries as were murdered from hatred to the Portuguese name, were immediately replaced by others, who were inspired with none but sentiments of peace and charity. This magnanimity confounded the barbarians, who had never

ver had any idea of forgiveness. By degrees they began to place some confidence in men who seemed to seek them only with a view of making them happy. Their attachment to the missionaries grew into a passionate fondness. When a Jesuit was expected in one of their nations, the young people flocked to meet him, concealing themselves in the woods along the road. As he drew near they fellied forth, played upon their pipes, beat their drums, danced, and made the air resound with joyful songs ; and in short, omitted nothing that could express their satisfaction. At the entrance of the village the old men and chief inhabitants were assembled, who expressed as much joy, but with more sedateness. A little further on, stood the women and young girls, in a respectful posture suitable to their sex. Then they all joined, and conducted their father in triumph to the place where they were assembled. There he instructed them in the fundamental doctrines of religion ; exhorted them to a regularity of manners, to a love of justice, to brotherly charity, and to an abhorrence for human blood ; after which he baptised them.

As these missionaries were too few in number to transact all the business themselves, they frequently deputed some of the most intelligent Indians in their stead. These men, proud of so glorious an office, distributed hatchets, knives and looking glasses among the savages they met with, and represented the Portuguese as a harmless, humane

BOOK and good sort of people. They never returned
IX. from their excursions without bringing with them
some of the Brazilians, who followed them from
motives of curiosity. When those savages had
once seen the Jesuits it was with difficulty that they
ever quitted them. When they returned home,
it was to invite their families and friends to come
and share their happiness, and to display the pre-
sents they had received.

If any one should doubt these happy effects of
kindness and humanity over savage nations, let him
only compare the progress the Jesuits have made,
in a very short time, in South America, with what
the forces and navy of Spain and Portugal have not
been able to effect in the space of two centu-
ries. While multitudes of soldiers were employed
in changing two great and civilized empires into
deserts inhabited by roving savages, a few mission-
aries have changed little wandering class into se-
veral great and civilized nations. If these active
and courageous men had been less infected with
the spirit of the church of Rome; if when formed
into a society in the most intriguing and corrupt
court in Europe, they had not insinuated them-
selves into other courts to influence all political
events; if the chiefs of the order had not made an
ill use of the very virtues of their members: the
old and new world would still have reaped the
advantage of the labours of a set of men, who
might have been made useful, had they been pre-
vented from being necessary; and the eighteenth

century would not have had cause to be ashamed B O O K of the enormities that have attended the suppression I X . of the society ; nor would France at this time with a spirit of meanness and rapacity unworthy of her greatness, be employed in persecuting her martyrs and apostles.

The Brazilians had too much cause of hatred against the Europeans, not to mistrust their kindness ; but their diffidence was in some measure removed by a signal act of justice.

The Portuguese had formed the settlement of St. Vincent on the sea-coast, in the 24th degree of south latitude. There they traded peaceably with the Cariges, the mildest and most civilized nation in all the Brazils. The advantages they reaped from this connection could not restrain them from seizing upon seventy men to make slaves of them. The person who had committed the offence was condemned to carry the prisoners back to the place from whence he had taken them, and to make the proper excuses for so heinous an insult. Two Jesuits who were appointed to dispose the Indians to accept this satisfaction, which would never have been offered but at their desire, gave notice of it to Farnacaha, the most respectable man of his nation. He came out to meet them, and embracing them with tears of joy ; " My fathers, " said he, we consent to forget all that is past, " and to enter into a fresh alliance with the Portuguese ; but let them for the future be more " moderate, and more observant of the rights of
L 2 " nations.

BOOK " nations. Our attachment entitles us at least to
IX. " equitable proceedings. We are called barbarians,
" yet we respect justice and our friends." The mis-
sionaries having engaged that for the future their
nation should more religiously observe the laws of
peace and unity. Farancaha proceeded thus ; " If
" you doubt the faith of the Cariges, I will give
" you a proof of it. I have a nephew for whom
" I have a great affection ; he is the hope of my
" family, and the comfort of his mother ; she
" would die with grief if she were to lose her son.
" Yet I will deliver him to you as a hostage.
" Take him along with you, cultivate his young
" mind, take care of his education, and instruct
" him in your religion. Let his manners be gentle
" and pure. I hope, when you return, you will
" instruct me also, and enlighten my mind." Many of the Cariges followed his example, and sent their children to St. Vincent's for education. The Jesuits were too artful not to take great advantage of this event ; but it does not appear that they ever had any intention to deceive the Indians by inculcating subversion. Avarice had not yet possessed the minds of these missionaries ; and the interest they had at court, secured sufficient respect in the colony, to make the situation of their con-verts a fortunate one.

THIS time of tranquillity was improved to the advancement of the sugar-trade, by means of the slaves procured from Africa. That vast region had no sooner been discovered and subdued by the Por-

Portuguese, than they brought away a great number of slaves from thence, who are employed by the mother country in domestic services and in clearing the lands. This custom, one of those which have most contributed to corrupt the character of the nation, was introduced much later in the American settlements, where it did not commence till about the year 1530. The number of negroes was much increased in America at this period. The natives did not, indeed, share their labours, but they did not obstruct them, as they did at first: they rather encouraged them, by devoting themselves to less laborious employments, and by supplying the colony with some means of subsistence. This harmony was productive of great advantages.

THE prosperity of the colony, which was visible in all the markets of Europe, excited the envy of the French. They attempted to make settlements successively at Rio-Janeiro, Rio Grande, Paraiba, and the island of Maragnan. Their levity would not suffer them to wait the usually slow progress of new undertakings; and merely from inconstancy and impatience, they gave up prospects that were sufficient to have encouraged any, except such volatile spirits, that are as easily discouraged as they are ready to undertake. The only valuable monument we have of their fruitless incursions is a dialogue which more particularly shews the natural good sense of the savages, as it is written with that simplicity of style which distinguished

BOOK tinguished the French language two hundred years
IX. ago; a simplicity in which there were graces we
cannot still but regret.

“ THE Brazilians, says Lery, one of the inter-
“ locutors, being very much astonished to see the
“ French take such pains to get their wood, one
“ of their old men once asked me this question.
“ What can be the reason that you Frenchmen
“ come so far to get wood for firing? Is there
“ none in your own country? To which I answer-
“ ed yes, and a great deal too, but not such as
“ theirs, which we did not burn as he thought; but
“ as they themselves used it to dye their strings
“ and their feathers, our people employed it also
“ in dying. He replied; well, but do you want
“ so great a quantity? Yes, said I; for in our
“ country there are some merchants who have
“ more rugs and scarlet cloths than you ever saw
“ in this country; one of these will buy several
“ cargoes of this wood. Ha hah! says the sa-
“ vage, thou tellst me wonders. Then pausing
“ upon what I had been telling him, he said; but
“ this very rich man thou talkest of, is he never
“ to die? Yes, yes, said I, as well as others.
“ Upon which, as they are great talkers, he asked
“ me again; So then when he is dead, to whom
“ does all the wealth he leaves belong? It goes,
“ said I, to his children, or if he has none, to his
“ brothers, sisters, or next of kin. Truly, says
“ the old man, now I see that you Frenchmen are
“ great fools; for, must you work so hard and
“ cross

" cross the sea to heap riches for them that come ~~B O O K~~
" after you, as if the earth that has fed you was ~~I X.~~
" not sufficient to feed them to? We have chil-
" dren and relations whom we love, as thou seest;
" but as we are sure that after our death, the earth
" that has provided for our subsistence will equal-
" ly provide for theirs, we are satisfied."

THIS mode of reasoning, so natural to savages, who have no ambition, but so repugnant to civilized nations who have experienced all the ill effects of luxury and avarice, made no great impression on the French. They could not withstand the temptation of riches, which all the maritime nations in Europe thirsted after at that time. The Dutch, who were become republicans by chance, and merchants from necessity, were more persevering and more successful than the French in their attempts on the Brazils. The nation they had to contend with was not more considerable than their own, and like them was preparing to shake off the yoke of Spain, though they still submitted to that of a regal government.

ALL historical accounts are full of the acts of The Dutch settle in
tyranny and cruelty that excited the low countries ^{the Bra-}
to rise against Philip II. The richest provinces ^{zils, and}
were retained or brought back under the yoke of ^{after hav-}
a tyrannical government, while the poorest, that ^{ing derived}
were in a manner under water, found means, by ^{consider-}
more than human efforts, to secure their indepen- ^{tages from}
dence. When their liberty was firmly established, ^{their situa-}
they attacked their enemy upon the remotest seas, ^{driven}
^{from it.}

BOOK on the Indus, on the Ganges, and as far as the
IX. Moluccas, which made a part of the Spanish do-

minions since Portugal had been included in them.
The truce of 1609 gave time to that enterprising
and fortunate republic to bring her new projects
to maturity. These designs were manifested in
1621 by the establishment of a West-India Com-
pany, from which the same success was expected
in Africa and America, that were both comprised
in the charter, as the East-India company had
experienced in Asia.

THE capital of the new society was twelve mil-
lions*; Holland furnished four ninths, Zealand
two, the Maese and West-Friesland each one, and
Friesland and Groningen together one ninth. The
general meeting was to be held at Amsterdam six
years successively, and then two years at Middle-
burg. The West-India company, who were dis-
satisfied that their privilege was not so extensive
as that of the East-India company, were in no
haste to begin their operations; but the states put
them upon the same footing, and then they made
an attack upon the Brazils.

PRECAUTIONS had been taken to procure the
necessary informations. Some Dutch ships had
ventured thither, in defiance of the law that for-
bad the admittance of any strangers. As they
greatly undersold, according to the custom of their
country, the commodities that came from Spain,
they met with a favourable reception. At their

rc-

return they reported, that the country was in a kind ~~book~~ of anarchy ; that foreign dominion had stifled in the people the love of their country ; that self-interest had corrupted their minds ; that the soldiers were turned merchants ; that they had forgotten the first principles of war, and that whoever should appear there with a competent force, would infallibly surmount the trifling obstacles that might be opposed to the conquest of that wealthy region.

THE company committed this undertaking to Jacob Willekins in 1624. He went directly to the capital. San Salvador surrendered at sight of the Dutch fleet, and the rest of the province, which was the largest, richest and most populous of the colony, made little more resistance.

THIS news was rather pleasing than disagreeable to the Spanish council. The ministry were comforted for the triumph obtained by the most inveterate enemies of their country, by considering the mortification which the Portuguese must necessarily experience from it. Ever since the Spaniards had been endeavouring to oppress that unfortunate nation, they had met with a resistance that offended the haughty spirit of that despotic government. An event that might reduce the pride of Portugal and render her more tractable, appeared to them a fortunate circumstance. They thought themselves at the eve of accomplishing their purpose, and were fully determined to do nothing that might protract the completion of it.

THOUGH

BOOK THOUGH Philip harboured these base sentiments,
IX. he thought the majesty of the throne required of
'him some outward demonstrations of decency.
Accordingly he wrote to the Portuguese of the
first rank, exhorting them to make such generous
efforts as the present exigencies required. This
they were already inclined to. Self-interest, pa-
triotism, the desire of throwing a damp upon the
joy of their tyrants ; all concurred to quicken their
alacrity. The monied men lavished their trea-
sures ; others raised troops ; all were eager to enter
into the service. In three months time twenty-
six ships were fitted out, which sailed in the be-
ginning of the year 1626, in company with those
from Spain, which the tardiness and policy of that
nation had made them wait for, much too long.

THE archbishop of San Salvador, Michael de Texeira, had prepared matters so as to facilitate their success. That martial prelate, at the head of 1500 men, had at first stopped the progress of the enemy. He had insulted, harassed, beaten, driven, inclosed and blocked them up in the town. The Dutch, reduced by hunger, fatigue and want, compelled the governor to surrender to the troops which the fleet had landed on their arrival, and they were all carried to Europe.

THE success of the company by sea, made them amends for this loss. Whenever their ships came into port they were victorious and loaded with the spoils of the Spaniards and Portuguese. They were so prosperous as to give umbrage even to the powers

powers most interested in the welfare of Holland. ~~BOOK~~ The ocean was covered with their fleets. Their admirals endeavoured by useful exploits to preserve their confidence. The subaltern officers aspired to promotion, by seconding the valour and skill of their commanders. The soldiers and sailors fought with unparalleled ardour, and nothing could discourage those resolute and intrepid men. The fatigues of the sea, sickness, and repeated engagements, all seemed to inure them to war, and to increase their emulation. The company encouraged this useful spirit by frequently distributing rewards. Exclusive of their pay, the sailors were allowed to carry on a private trade, which was a great encouragement, and procured a constant supply of men. By this wise regulation, their interest was so immediately connected with their employers, that they wished to be always in action. They never struck to the enemy, nor ever failed to attack their ships with that degree of skill, intrepidity and perseverance, which must insure victory. In the course of thirteen years, the company fitted out eight hundred ships, which cost ninety millions *. They took five hundred and forty-five of the enemy's ships, which, with the goods on board, sold for 180,000,000 livres †. The dividend was never below twenty per cent. And often rose to fifty. This prosperity, which was entirely owing to the war, enabled the company to make a second attack upon the Brazils.

THEIR

* 3,937,500l.

† 7,875,000l.

BOOK THEIR admiral, Henry Lonk, arrived in the
IX. beginning of the year 1630, with forty-six men of
war, on the coast of Fernambucca, one of the
largest captainships in those parts, and the best
fortified. He reduced it after several obstinate
engagements, in which he was always victorious.
The troops he left behind, subdued the captain-
ships of Tamaraca, Paraiba, and Rio Grande, in
the years 1633, 1634, and 1635. These, as well
as Fernambucca, furnished annually a large quan-
tity of sugar, a great deal of wood for dying, and
other commodities.

THE company were so elated with the acquisi-
tion of this wealth, which flowed to Amsterdam
instead of Lisbon, that they determined to con-
quer all the Brazils, and intrusted Maurice of
Nassau with the conduct of this enterprise. That
general reached the place of his destination in the
beginning of the year 1637. He found the sol-
diers so well disciplined, the commanders such
experienced men, and so much readiness in all to
engage, that he directly took the field. He was
successively opposed by Albuquerque, Banjola,
Lewis Rocca de Borgia, and the Brazilian Came-
ron, the idol of his people, passionately fond of
the Portuguese, brave, active, cunning, and who
wanted no qualification necessary for a general, but
to have learned the art of war under able com-
manders. These several chiefs exerted their ut-
most efforts to defend the possessions that were un-
der their protection ; but their endeavours proved

ineffectual. The Dutch seized upon the captain-ships of Siara, Seregippe, and the greater part of that of Bahia. Seven of the fourteen provinces which composed the colony, had already submitted to them, and they flattered themselves that one or two campaigns would make them masters of the rest of their enemies possessions in that part of America; when they were suddenly checked in the midst of their success by a revolution which all Europe wished for, but had no room to expect.

THE Portuguese had never enjoyed happy times since they had submitted to the Spanish yoke in 1581. Philip II. an avaricious, cruel, despotic, designing and false prince, had endeavoured to vilify them; but concealed his intentions under honourable pretences. His son, who too closely followed his maxims, and thought it better to reign over a ruined nation than to be indebted to the good-will of the people for their submission, had suffered them to be deprived of a multitude of conquests, which had proved a source of riches, power and glory to them, and which they had acquired by much effusion of blood. The successor of that weak prince, who had still less understanding than his father, openly and contumuously attacked their administration, their privileges, their manners, and all that they were most attached to. At the instigation of Olivarez, he wanted to provoke them to revolt, that he might acquire the right of plundering them.

THESE

BOOK IX. THESE repeated outrages united all the Portuguese, whom Spain had been labouring to divide.

'A conspiracy, that had been forming for three years with incredible secrecy, broke out on the 3d of December 1640. Philip IV. was ignominiously banished, and the duke of Braganza was placed on the throne of his ancestors. The example of the capital was followed by the whole kingdom, and by all that remained of the settlements formed in happier times in Asia, Africa, and America. No blood was shed on this great revolution except that of Michael Vasconcellos, the base and vile instrument of tyranny.

THE new king united his interests and his resentments with those of the English, the French, and all the enemies of Spain. On the 23d of June 1641, he in particular concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the United Provinces for Europe, and a ten years truce for the East and West Indies. Nassau was immediately recalled with most of the troops, and the government of the Dutch possessions in Brazil was given to Hamel, a merchant of Amsterdam; to Baills, a goldsmith of Harlem; and to Bullestraat, a carpenter of Middleburgh. The decision of all affairs was to be referred to this council; and these were now supposed to be confined to the carrying on of a considerable and advantageous trade.

THE new administrators readily entered into the economical views of the company. Their own inclinations led them to push their views too far.

They

They suffered the fortifications to decay, which ~~soon~~ had been already too much neglected ; they sold ~~ix.~~ arms and ammunition to their rivals, who paid a high price for them ; and allowed all the soldiers who desired it to return to Europe. Their whole ambition was to suppress all expences, and increase the profits of their constituents ; and the applause which they received on account of the riches of the cargoes from the avaritious and weak minded persons who composed the direction, confirmed them in their errors. With a view to give a further increase to the profits of the company, they began to oppress those Portuguese, who on account of their having considerable property among them, or from some other motive, were induced to remain under their government. Tyranny made a rapid progress, and was at last carried to that excess, which is an excuse for all kinds of measures, and inspires the most violent ones.

The victims of these proceedings wasted no time in complaints. The boldest of them united in 1645, to take their revenge : their design was, to massacre all the Dutch who had any share in the government, at an entertainment in the midst of the capital of Fernambucca, and then to attack the people, who, suspecting no danger, would be unprepared. The plot was discovered, but the conspirators had time to get out of the town, and retire to a place of safety.

Their chief was a Portuguese of obscure birth, named Juan Fernandez de Viera. From a common

BOOK mon servant he had risen to be an agent, and afterwards a merchant. His abilities had enabled him to acquire a large fortune ; his probity had gained him universal confidence ; and his generosity had made him an infinite number of friends, who were inviolably attached to his interest. He was not discouraged by the disappointment he had just met with ; but he ventured without the consent or support of government, to commence hostilities.

His name, his virtues and his projects assembled the Brazilians, the Portuguese soldiers, and even the colonists about him. He inspired them with his confidence, his activity and his courage. They attended him in battle, crowded about his person, and were determined to conquer or to die with him. He triumphed, but did not allow himself to slumber over his victories, or give the enemy time to recover. Some checks he met with in the course of his successes, only served to display the firmness of his soul, the extent of his genius, and the elevation of his mind. He assumed a threatening aspect, even after a misfortune, and appeared still more formidable by his perseverance than by his intrepidity. He spread such terror among his enemies that they dared no longer keep the field. At this period of his glory, Viera received orders not to proceed.

SINCE the truce, the Dutch had seized upon some places in Africa and Asia, which they obstinately refused to restore. The court of Lisbon,

intent upon matters of greater importance, had ~~so~~ ~~so~~ ~~so~~ not been able to do itself justice; but its present inability had not lessened its resentment. In this disposition, it had rejoiced to see the republic attacked in Brazil; and had even clandestinely encouraged those who had begun the hostilities. As it constantly disavowed these proceedings, and declared, both in Europe and America, that it would one day punish the authors of the disturbances, the company imagined they would soon subside; but their avarice, which had been too long amused with false and frivolous protestations, was roused at last. John IV, being informed that considerable armaments were making in Holland, and fearing to be drawn into a war which he wished to avoid, exerted himself in earnest to put an end to the hostilities in the Brazils.

VIERRA, who had no resource for the completion of his designs, but in his fortune, his interest, and his abilities, did not even deliberate whether he should obey. "If the king, said he, were but informed of our zeal and our success, and acquainted with his own interest; far from disarming us, he would encourage us to pursue our undertaking, and would support us with all his power." Then, lest the ardour of his companions should abate, he determined to hasten his operations; and they continued to be crowned with such success, that with the assistance of Baretto, Vidal, and some other Portuguese, who were able and willing to serve their country, he completed

BOOK the ruin of the Dutch. The few of these republicans who escaped the sword and famine, evacuated Brazil in consequence of a capitulation signed the 28th of January 1654.

THE peace concluded three months after between England and the United Provinces, seemed to put the latter in a condition to recover a valuable possession, which they had lost by an ill-judged parsimony and by an unfortunate concurrence of circumstances; but both the republic and the company frustrated the general expectation; and the treaty which put an end to the divisions between the two powers in 1661, secured to Portugal the sole possession of all the Brazils, in consideration of eight millions of livres* which that crown engaged to pay to the United Provinces, either in money or goods.

THUS did the Dutch part with a conquest that might have become the richest of all the European colonies, and would have given the republic a degree of importance it could never acquire from its own territory. But, in order to keep it, the government ought to have undertaken the administration and defense of it; and to make it prosper, it should have enjoyed full liberty. With these precautions, Brazil would have been preserved, and would have enriched the nation; instead of ruining the company. Unfortunately it was not yet known that the only way to make lands useful in America is to clear them, and that the only

way

* 350,000L.

way to do this successfully, is to open a free trade ~~to~~ ^{to} 2000₀ to all the inhabitants under the protection of government. IX.

As soon as the Portuguese were entirely freed from the Dutch, they employed themselves in putting the colony into better order than ever it had been even before the war. The first step that was taken for this purpose, was to regulate the condition of the Brazilians who had either submitted already, or might be hereafter reduced to subjection. Upon a more attentive examination it was found, that the accounts, which represented these savages as impatient of any kind of controul, were without foundation. The first impression that the sight of Europeans made upon small nations, who were divided by continual wars, was a sense of distrust; and as it is natural for suspected persons to be afraid of those who suspect them, they thought themselves at liberty to treat them as enemies, to oppress them, and to put them in irons. This treatment rendered them ferocious. The difficulty of understanding one another, gave still more frequent occasions of animosity on both sides. If the natives afterwards renewed their hostilities, it was commonly because they were provoked to it by the imprudence, the rapaciousness, the dishonesty, and the ill usage of that restless and ambitious power which was come to disturb the peace of this part of America. On some occasions, they might be charged with inadvertency, in too hastily taking up arms from the apprehensions

BOOK prehensions of imaginary danger, but never with
ix. injustice or duplicity of conduct. They were al-
ways found true to their promises, to the faith of
treaties, and to the sacred rights of hospitality.

THE just idea that was at length entertained of
their character induced the Portuguese to collect
them into villages along the coast, or some little
way up the country. By this contrivance a com-
munication was secured between the Portuguese
settlements, and the savages who infested the in-
termediate parts with their depredations were kept
at a distance. Some missionaries, who were mostly
Jesuits, were intrusted with the temporal and spi-
ritual government of these new communities. Af-
ter making the strictest inquiries that were possible
in a country where every thing is mysterious, we
have been informed that those ecclesiastics were
absolute tyrants. Those who had retained some
principles of moderation and humanity, whether
from indolence or fanaticism, kept these little so-
cieties in a state of perpetual infancy, and neither
improved their understanding, nor their industry
beyond a certain degree.

Possibly, had they been ever so willing, they
would have found it difficult to have been more
serviceable to them. Some kinds of government
are faulty, both by the evil they do, and by the
good they prevent. A bad administration cor-
rupts every source of virtue and prosperity. The
court of Lisbon exempted the Indians from all
taxes, but made them subject to labours of vassal-

age. This fatal law made them dependent on book the neighbouring commandants and magistrates, IX. who, under the usual pretence adopted by men in office, of making them work for the public, too often imposed labours upon them for their own purposes. Those who were not employed for them or for their directors, were generally unemployed. If they shook off their natural indolence, it was to go a hunting or fishing, or to cultivate a little cassada, just as much as they wanted for their own subsistence. Their manufactures were confined to some cotton girdles or sashes to cover their loins, and the arrangement of a few feathers to adorn their heads. The most industrious among them, by cutting the wood in the forests, or by the labours of agriculture procured themselves a sufficiency to purchase a few articles of cutlery, and other trifles of small value. If any of them, from a spirit of inconstancy, hired themselves to the Portuguese, either for domestic services or to navigate their small craft, it was always for a short time; for they had the greatest aversion for labour, and held money in the highest contempt.

SUCH was the fate of the Brazilians who had submitted, whose number never exceeded 200,000. The independent natives had little intercourse with the Europeans, except by the slaves they sold them, or those that were taken from them. Acts of hostility became less frequent between the two nations, and there was at length a total cessation

BOOK of them. The Portuguese have not been molested
IX. by the natives since the year 1717, and have not
molested them since 1756.

WHILE the court of Lisbon was engaged in regulating the interior concerns of the colony, some of the subjects of Portugal were devising the means of extending it. They advanced to the south towards the river of Plata, and to the north as far as the Amazons. The Spaniards seemed to be in possession of both those rivers. The Portuguese were determined to drive them away, or share the navigation with them.

Settlement of the Portuguese on the river of the Amazonas. THE river of the Amazons, so famous for the length of its course; that great vassal of the sea, to which it brings the tribute it has received from so many of its own vassals, seems to be produced by innumerable torrents that rush down from the east side of the Andes, and unite in a spacious plain, to form that immense river. Yet the common opinion is, that it comes from the lake Llau-ricocha, as from a reservoir of the Cordeleras, situate in the district of Guanuco, thirty leagues from Lima, about the 11th degree of south latitude. In its progress of a thousand or eleven hundred leagues, it receives the waters of a prodigious number of rivers, some of which come from far, and are very broad and deep. It is interspersed with an infinite number of islands, that are too often overflowed to admit of culture. It falls into the ocean under the line, and is there fifty leagues broad.

THE mouth of this river was first discovered in 1500 by Vincent Pinçon, one of the companions of Columbus, and its source is thought to have been found out by Gonzalo Pizarro 1538. His lieutenant Orellana embarked on this river, and sailed from one end to the other of it. He was obliged to fight his way along, and to engage with many nations, who obstructed his navigation with their canoes, and poured showers of arrows upon him from the shore. It was certainly at this time that the sight of savages without beards, as are all the American nations, struck the lively imaginations of the Spaniards, and suggested the idea of an army of female warriors: this must have induced the commanding officer to change the name of that river, which was then called the Maragnon, and to call it the river of the Amazons, which name it retains to this day.

IT might appear a matter of astonishment that the discovery of America had not suggested to the imagination of the Spaniards a great number of miraculous stories, had not their conquests, and the riches they acquired by their unparalleled cruelties, depopulated a country so well adapted to favour their propensity to the marvellous. There indeed, the fancy of the Greeks might have found abundant matter for pleasing chimæras. They, who in every part of their limited territory could not but meet with a multitude of wonders, had, even in the times of Hercules and Theseus, imagined the existence of a nation of Amazons.

BOOKS. They were so enchanted with this idea, IX. that it constantly served to embellish the histories of all the heroes, down to Alexander. Perhaps, the Spaniards, still infatuated with this dream of profane antiquity, were the more disposed to realize the fiction, by transferring to the new continent what they had learned in the old.

SUCH was, probably, the origin of the opinion they established both in Europe and America, of a republic of female warriors, actually existing, who did not live in society with men, and only admitted them once a year, for the purposes of procreation. To give the more credit to this romantic story, it was reported, not without reason, that the women in America were all so unhappy, and were treated with such contempt and inhumanity, that many of them had agreed to shake off the yoke of their tyrants. It was further said, that being accustomed to follow the men into the forests, and to carry their provisions and baggage when they went out to fight or to hunt, they must necessarily have been inured to hardships, and rendered capable of forming so bold a resolution.

BUT it is absurd to imagine that women who had so fixed an aversion for men, would ever consent to become mothers; nor is it likely that the men would run after their wives, when they had made their lives insupportable at home, and always turned them away as soon as they had no more occasion for them. Much less can it be supposed that the softer and more compassionate sex would expose

expose or strangle their own children because they ~~were~~ were boys; and coolly and deliberately agree to commit such enormities as none would be guilty of, but a few individuals urged by rage and despair. An aristocratical or democratical republic, which it requires abilities to govern, could not be governed by a senate of women; though a monarchical or despotic state, in which it is only necessary to command, has been, and may still be ruled by a woman.

If some strange prejudices have formed societies of both sexes amongst us, who live separate, and free from that natural attraction which was intended to unite them, it is not consistent with the nature of things, that chance should have produced a nation of men without women, and still less a nation of women without men. Certain it is, that since this political constitution has been talked of, infinite pains have been taken to find it out, but no traces of it could ever be discovered. This singular prodigy therefore will be like many others, which are always supposed to exist, though no person knows where.

Be this as it may, the voyage of Orellana procured little information, but excited much curiosity. An opportunity of satisfying it did not occur for some time, on account of the civil wars that disturbed Peru; but when tranquillity was restored, Pedro d'Orsuo, a gentleman of Navarre, distinguished by his wisdom and courage, offered the viceroy, in 1560, to resume that navigation.

BOOK He set out from Cusco with seven hundred men.

IX. These sanguinary people, inveterate enemies to all persons of good character, massacred their chief, who was a man of good morals, and attached to order and regularity. They set up at their head, with the title of king, a native of Biscay, of a ferocious disposition, whose name was Lopez d'Aguirre, and who promised them all the treasures of the new world.

INTOXICATED with such flattering hopes, these barbarians sailed down the river Amazon into the ocean, and landing at Trinidad, murdered the governor, and plundered the island. The coasts of Cumana, Caraccas, and St. Martha were still more severely treated, because they were richer. They then penetrated into new Granada, and were advancing to Quito and into the interior part of Peru, where every thing was to be destroyed by fire and sword. A body of troops, hastily assembled, attacked these desperate men, beat and dispersed them. D'Aguirre, seeing no way to escape, marked his despair by an atrocious act. " My child, said he, to his only daughter who attended him in his expeditions, I thought to have placed thee upon a throne, but the event has not answered my expectation. My honour and thy own will not permit thee to live, and to be a slave to our enemies; die therefore by a father's hand." Saying this, he instantly shot her through the body, and then put an end to her life, by plunging a dagger into her heart.

heart. After this unnatural act, his strength failed, ~~and he was taken prisoner, drawn and quartered.~~ IX.

AFTER these unfortunate events, the river of the Amazons was entirely neglected, and was totally forgotten for half a century. Some attempts were afterwards made to resume the discovery of it, but they were ill concerted and no better executed. The honour of conquering difficulties, and acquiring a useful knowledge of that great river, was reserved to the Portuguese.

THAT nation, which still retained some remains of her former vigour, had, some years before, built a town at the entrance of the river, which was called Para. Pedro Texeira sailed from this place in 1638, and with a great number of canoes full of Indians and Portuguese, went up the river of the Amazons, as far as the mouth of the Napo, and then up the Napo, which brought him almost to Quito, where he arrived by land. Notwithstanding the enmity subsisting between the Spaniards and Portuguese, though subjects of the same master, Texeira was received with that regard, esteem, and confidence, which were due to a man who was doing a signal service. He returned in company with d'Acughna and d'Artieda, two learned Jesuits, who were commissioned to verify his observations, and to make others. An accurate account of these two successful voyages was sent to the court of Madrid, where it gave rise to a very extraordinary project.

BOOK THE communication between the Spanish co-

ix. lones had long been found very difficult. Some pirates, who were at enmity with them, infested the north and south seas, and intercepted their navigation. Even those of their ships which had got to the Havannah and joined others, were not perfectly safe. The galleons were frequently attacked and taken by whole squadrons, and always pursued by privateers, who seldom failed to carry off the straggling vessels, that were parted from the convoy, either by stormy weather or by sailing more slowly than the rest. The Amazon river seemed as if it would obviate all these difficulties. It was thought possible, and even an easy matter, to convey thither the treasures of New Granada, Popayan, Quito, Peru, and Chili itself, by navigable rivers, or at a small expence by land. It was thought that coming down the river, they would find the galleons ready in the harbour of Para to receive them. The fleet from Brazil would then have joined, and consequently strengthened the fleet from Spain. They would then have sailed with great security in latitudes little known and little frequented, and would have arrived in Europe at least with a formidable appearance; or might really have been in a condition to surmount any obstacles they might have met with. The revolution which placed the duke of Braganza on the throne, put an end to these important projects. Each of the two nations was then only intent upon

securing to itself that part of the river which best suited its own situation.

IX.

THE Spanish Jesuits undertook to set up a mission in the country lying between the banks of the Amazon and of the Napo, as far as to the conflux of both these rivers. Every missionary, attended only by one man, took with him hatchets, knives, needles, and all kinds of iron tools, and penetrated into the thickest of the forests. There they spent whole months in climbing up the trees, to see if they could discover some hut, perceive any smoke, or hear the sound of any drum or fife. When they were assured that some savages were in the neighbourhood, they advanced towards them. Most of them fled, especially if they were at war. Those the missionary could come within reach of, were easily bribed by such presents as their ignorance made them set a value upon. This was all the eloquence he had in his power, or all he had any occasion to exert.

WHEN he had assembled a few families, he led them to the place he had fixed upon to form a village. They were not easily prevailed upon to take up their abode there. As they were used to rove about, they found it an insupportable hardship to remain always in the same place. The state of independence in which they had lived, ~~they~~ thought preferable to the social life that was recommended to them; and their unconquerable aversion for labour, induced them continually to return to the forests, where they had passed their lives

BOOK lives in idleness. Even those who were restrained
ix. by the authority or the paternal kindness of their
legislator, seldom failed to dispense in his absence,
though ever so short. But his death always deca-
tioned a total subversion of the settlement.

The perseverance of the Jesuits has at last con-
quered these obstacles apparently invincible. Their
mission, which began in 1637, has gradually ac-
quired some degree of firmness, and now consists
of thirty-six villages, twelve of which are situated
along the Napo, and twenty-four on the banks of
the Amazon. The most populous has no more
than twelve hundred inhabitants, and the rest
much less. The increase of the mission must be
slow, and can never be considerable.

The women of this part of America are not
fruitful, and their barrenness increases, when they
remove from one place to another. The men are
of a feeble habit, and the custom they have of
bathing constantly, by no means contributes to in-
crease their strength. The climate is not healthy,
and contagious distempers are very frequent. It
has never been possible, and probably never will be,
to inspire the savages with an inclination for agri-
culture. Their chief delight is in fishing and
hunting, amusements which are by no means fa-
vourable to the increase of population. In a
country which is almost all under water, there are
few situations proper to form a settlement upon.
Most of these situations are at so great a distance
from each other, that they cannot possibly furnish
any

any mutual assistance. The nations which one ~~is~~ ~~a~~ ~~o~~ ~~a~~ ~~x~~ might endeavour to incorporate are also too far separated; most of them are intrenched in inaccessible places, and are so inconsiderable, that they often consist only of five or six families.

Of all the Indians the Jesuits had collected, and whom they governed, none were so lifeless or so incapable of being animated as these. Every missionary was obliged to put himself at their head in order to make them pick up the cocoa, vanilla, and sarsaparilla that nature plentifully offers them, and which are sent every year to Quito, three hundred leagues off, that they may be bartered for necessaries. Their whole property consists of a hut, open on all sides, made of a few lianes, and covered on the top with palm leaves, a few implements of husbandry, a lance, bows and arrows for hunting, fishing tackle, a tent, a hammock, and a canoe. It has not been possible to inspire them with desires beyond these articles. They are so well satisfied with what they possess, that they wish for nothing more; they live unconcerned, and die without fear. They may be said to be happy, if happiness consists more in an exemption from the uneasy sensation that attends want, than in the multiplicity of enjoyments that our wants require.

THIS infant state, the offspring of religion alone, has hitherto been of no service to Spain, and it can hardly be expected it ever should. However the government of Maynas, with its capital Borja, have been formed there. The destroyers of America

book rica have never thought of establishing any settlement in a country where there are no mines, nor any of those rich commodities which so powerfully allured their covetousness ; but this country has sometimes attracted the neighbouring savages.

WHILE some missionaries were establishing the authority of the court of Madrid on the banks of the Amazon, others were doing the same service to that of Lisbon. Six or seven days journey below the settlement of St. Ignacio de Pevas, the last under the jurisdiction of Spain, is St. Paul, the first of the six villages formed by some Portuguese Carmelites, at a very great distance from each other. They are all on the south side of the river, where the ground is higher, and less liable to be overflowed. Those missions exhibit a pleasant prospect five hundred leagues from the sea ; churches and houses prettily built ; Americans neatly dressed ; and all sorts of European furniture which the Indians procure once a year at Para, when they go in their boats to sell the cocoa they pick up along the water side, where it grows spontaneously. If the Maynas were at liberty to form connections with these neighbours, they might acquire by this intercourse some conveniences that they cannot be supplied with from Quito, being separated from that place by the Cordeletas, which cut off the communication more effectually than immense seas would do. This indulgence of government might perhaps be productive of considerable advantages ; and, possibly, both Spain and Por-

Portugal, though rival powers, might be sensible ~~BOOK~~ that it would be for their mutual interest to extend ~~IX.~~ it. It is well known that the province of Quito is poor, for want of an opportunity of disposing of the overplus of those very commodities that are not to be had at Para. The two provinces mutually assisting each other by means of the Napo and the Amazon, would rise to a degree of prosperity they could never attain without this intercourse. The mother countries would in time reap great advantages from it, and it could never be prejudicial to them, because Quito can never purchase what is sent from Europe to America, and Para consumes nothing but what Lisbon obtains from foreign countries. But national antipathies, and the jealousies of crowned heads, are attended with the same effects as the passions and prejudices of men in private life. One unfortunate incident is sufficient to divide families and nations for ever, whose greatest interest it is to love and assist one another, and to promote the general good. The spirit of hatred and revenge will rather induce men to submit to suffer than not be gratified. Those passions are constantly kept up by the mutual injuries and the effusion of blood they occasion. How different is man in the state of nature from man corrupted by society! The latter amply deserves all the misfortunes he brings upon himself.

EVIDENT proofs of his propensity to evil may be seen in those bulwarks, and that chain of forts

BOOK erected by the avarice and distrust of the conquerors of Brazil, from the district of Coari down to the sea side. The Portuguese built them to preserve their usurpations in that part of the world. Though these forts are at a great distance from each other, and are but slightly fortified and thinly garrisoned, the few Indians who inhabit the intermediate spaces are completely kept in subjection. The petty nations who refused to submit, have disappeared, having fled for refuge to some remote or unknown region. The rich soil they have forsaken has not been cultivated, though the interest of the mother country seemed to require it; so that hitherto all the conquests the Spaniards and Portuguese have made, have rather excited hatred and indignation against their cruelties, than procured them riches and prosperity.

THE country along the Amazon indeed furnishes Portugal with sarsaparilla, vanilla, coffee, cotton, woods for cabinet work, timber and plenty of cocoa, which, till of late years, was the current coin of the country. But this produce is nothing to what it might be. It is only to be found for some leagues about great Para, the capital of the colony, whereas the cultures ought to extend all along the great river, and on the fertile banks of an infinite number of navigable rivers which fall into it.

THESE considerable articles of trade are not the only ones that this part of the new world could supply Portugal with, if from time to time it had

had sent able naturalists into its colonies, as other ~~B O O K~~ nations have done into theirs. Chance alone has IX.
discovered the Cucheris and Pecuri, two aromatic trees, whose fruits have the same properties as the nutmeg and clove. Perhaps culture might give them that degree of perfection they want. Continual application might procure much useful knowledge, in a country where nature is so different from what it is in our climate.

UNFORTUNATELY the Portuguese, who in their settlements on the river Amazon employed none but savages for their laborious work, attended to nothing but making slaves. At first, they set up a cross on some eminence in the countries they ran over, and left the care of it to the Indians. If they suffered it to decay, they and their children were piously doomed to slavery, for this heinous profanation. Thus the sign of salvation and deliverance to christians, was made a sign of death and slavery to the Indians. The forts that had been erected served afterwards to increase the number of slaves. This resource proving insufficient, the Portuguese of Para made excursions of five or six hundred leagues to procure an additional number of men to supply the place of beasts in the cultivation of the land. In 1719, they procured some from the country of Maynas; and 1733 from the missions of the Napo; and in 1741 as far as the head of the river Madera, and at different times from the banks of rivers nearer home. They procured the greatest number from Rio Negro, where

BOOK they have long since built a considerable fort. A detachment from the garrison of Para is always encamped on the banks of that river, to keep the reduced Indians in awe and to protect them. That part of the country is covered with missions, where the missionaries piously encourage their converts to attack the neighbouring nations and bring away slaves. At last a party of soldiers, who were sent out to make further discoveries, went in boats as far as Orbonoko. This last enterprise has enlarged the views of the Portuguese, by removing all doubt concerning the communication between that river and the Amazon by Rio Negro. It concerns the court of Madrid to examine the grounds of these views, and to see how far they ought to take measures for disappointing them. At least we may venture to affirm, that the projects of the court of Lisbon on the river Plata, deserve the most serious attention.

Settlement of the Portuguese on the river Plata. THE Portuguese, who had appeared there soon after the Spaniards, took a dislike to it and withdrew in a short time. In 1679 their inclination of settling there was revived, and with more spirit than they were thought capable of from their conduct and manners in Europe, they penetrated into Paraguay. They had already established the colony of St. Sacrament, near the islands of St. Gabriel, opposite Buenos Ayres, when they were accidentally detected. The Guaranis Indians hastened thither to make amends for the neglect of government. They attacked the new erected fortifica-

tions without hesitation, and demolished them ~~BOOK~~ with an intrepidity that has done honour to their IX. courage.

THE court of Lisbon, which had built great hopes upon this settlement, was not discouraged by the late misfortunes it had experienced; but desired that, till its claims could be adjusted, it might be allowed a place where the Portuguese might be sheltered from storms, and in security from pirates, if they were forced by stress of weather to enter the river Plata.

CHARLES II, who dreaded a war, and hated business, was weak enough to comply with their request, and only stipulated that the place so granted should be deemed his property; that no more than fourteen Portuguese families should be sent thither; that the houses should be built of wood and thatched; that no fort should be erected; and that the governor of Buenos Ayres should have a right to inspect both the colony and the ships that should come into it.

IF the Jesuits who had directed the war, had also carried on the negociation, they would certainly have foreseen the consequence of such a compliance. It was impossible that a fixed settlement in so important a situation, however inconsiderable it might be, should not become a source of frequent altercations with enterprising neighbours, whose claims were very great, who were certain of the protection of all the enemies of Spain, and whose vicinity to the Brazils would en-

BOOK able them to take advantage of every opportunity
IX. to aggrandize and fortify themselves. The event
soon shewed the danger that might have been
foreseen.

IMMEDIATELY upon the elevation of a French prince to the throne of Spain, when all was still in confusion and uncertainty as to the consequences of that great revolution, the Portuguese restored the fortifications of St. Sacrament with amazing celerity. The precaution they took at the same time of giving alarm to the Guarani, by ordering some troops to advance towards their frontiers, induced them to hope that they should prevent any disturbances from them. But they were mistaken. The Jesuits having detected the artifice, brought their converts to St. Sacrament, which was already besieged. Those brave Indians, on their arrival, offered to mount the breach, though they knew it was but just opened. When they began their march, some batteries were fired upon them from the town, but they stood the cannonade without ever breaking their ranks, nor could they be restrained by the fire of the small arms, which likewise killed many of them. The intrepidity with which they still advanced, raised such astonishment among the Portuguese that they fled to their ships, and abandoned the place.

THE misfortunes which Philip V. experienced in Europe prevented this success from being of any advantage. The colony of St. Sacrament was firmly re-established by the peace of Utrecht.

Queen

Queen Anne, who made this peace, and who neither ~~BOOK~~
neglected her own interests nor those of her allies, IX.
required Spain to give up this important point.

AT this period the new settlement, being now under no apprehensions, began to carry on an immense trade with Buenos Ayres. This contraband trade had long subsisted. Rio Janeiro furnished Buenos Ayres with sugar, tobacco, wine, brandy, negroes, and woollen goods; and received in return from thence, flour, biscuit, dried or salt meat, and money. As soon as the two colonies had a safe and commodious staple, their connections were unlimited. The court of Madrid, which soon perceived the road the treasures of Peru were taking, shewed great marks of discontent, which still increased as the injury complained of grew greater. This proved a perpetual source of division between the two nations, which was every instant expected to terminate in an open rupture. The conciliating methods which were proposed from time to time, were always found impracticable. At last, however, matters were adjusted.

IT was agreed at Madrid on the 13th of January 1750, that Portugal should give up to Spain the colony of St. Sacramento, and the north border of the river Plata, together with the village of St. Christopher and the adjacent lands, situated between the rivers Ypura and Isfa, which fall into the Amazon. Spain, on her side, gave up all the lands and habitations bordering on the east side of the river Uruguay, from the river Ibicui to the

BOOK north, the village of Santa Rosa, and all the others
IX, on the eastern border of the Guarapey.

THIS exchange was censured in both courts. Some ventured to say at Lisbon, that it was bad policy to sacrifice a colony, whose illicit trade brought in eight or ten millions * a year to the mother country, for other possessions the advantages of which were precarious, or at least distant. The clamours ran higher still at Madrid, and were more general. It was imagined that the Portuguese were already masters of the whole extent of the Uruguay, that the settlements all along the banks of the Plata were filled with their merchandise ; that they were seen penetrating by means of several rivers into the Tucuman, into Chili, and as far as Potosi, and by degrees securing to themselves all the riches of Peru. It appeared incredible that the same ministers, who had considered it as impossible to put a stop to a contraband trade which could only be carried on from one spot, should flatter themselves they should be able to prevent it, when a hundred channels were laid open to it. It was, said they, shutting a window against a thief, and throwing open the doors.

THESE dispositions gave rise to numberless cabals, which were laid to the charge of the Jesuits. They were known to be averse from an arrangement that must necessarily dismember their republic ; and it was therefore thought there was reason enough to suspect them of exerting every effort to

prevent

* On an average about 400,000L.

prevent the conclusion of the agreement. They ~~were~~ were banished from both courts; the intrigues ceased, and the treaty was ratified. IX.

IT was then necessary to enforce the execution of it in America, which appeared to be a matter of some difficulty. The Guaranis had not been subdued, but had freely submitted to Spain. They might, possibly, be of opinion, that they had not given that crown a power of disposing of them to another. Without being conversant in the subtleties of the law of nations, they might think that they had a right to determine what was most conducive to their own happiness. Their known abhorrence for the Portuguese yoke was equally likely to lead them into error, or to inform them of what was their interest; and that aversion might be strengthened by insinuations from without. So critical a situation made it necessary to proceed with the greatest circumspection, which was not neglected.

THE forces which both powers had sent over from Europe, and those that could be collected in America, joined to prevent or get the better of those difficulties that were foreseen. This system did not alarm those against whom it was intended. Though the seven settlements that had been ceded were not succoured by the others, at least not openly; and though the chiefs who till then had led them on to battle were no longer at their head, they were not afraid to take up arms in defence of their liberty. But their military conduct was not such

book such as it ought to have been. Instead of con-

fining themselves to harass the enemy, and to cut off their subsistence, which came from two hundred leagues off, the Guaranis ventured to engage them in the open field, and met with some considerable losses. If they had been totally defeated, they were determined to quit the country, to carry off all they could, to set fire to the rest, and to leave the conqueror nothing but a desert. Whether the two powers who had agreed to make the exchange were intimidated by this spirited behaviour, or whether one or perhaps both became sensible of the disadvantages of the treaty they had entered into, it was cancelled in 1761, and things remained upon the old footing in America; but both courts retained a violent resentment against the Jesuits, who were thought to have kindled a war in Paraguay, to promote their own interest.

It is uncertain how far they may have deserved this accusation. The proofs in support of this charge have not been laid before the public. All that a writer, who has nothing to guide him but conjecture, can venture to assert, is, that probabilities are strong against them. It was hardly possible that men who with infinite labour, had erected such a vast edifice, could patiently bear to see its ruin. Independent of self-interest, which must have a considerable influence upon a society, which, from its first establishment, had been secretly aiming at dominion, the Jesuits must have thought themselves

intrusted with the felicity of those humane and ~~soo~~ simple people, who sheltering themselves under their protection, depended upon them for their future destiny. However this may be, we must now proceed to speak of another method the Portuguese took to enlarge their possessions.

In the district of St. Vincent, the southermost settlement in Brazil, and the nearest to Rio de la Plata, thirteen leagues from the sea, is a town called St. Paul. It was founded by those malefactors who were first sent from Portugal into the new world. As soon as they perceived that they were to be subject to the restraints of law, they withdrew from the places they had first inhabited, intermarried with the natives, and in a short time became so profligate, that their fellow citizens broke off all intercourse with them. The contempt they met with, and the fear of being restrained in their licentiousness, together with the love of liberty, made them desirous of being independent. The situation of their town, which could be defended by a handful of men against the most powerful armies that could be sent against them, inspired them with the resolution of being subject to no foreign power, and their ambition was successful: Profligate men of all nations resorted in great numbers to this establishment. All travellers were strictly forbidden to enter this new republic. To obtain an admittance, it was previously necessary to promise to settle there; and candidates were to undergo a severe trial. Those who could not go through

of the Portuguese at St. Paul.

BOOK through that kind of novitiate, or who were suspected of perfidy, were barbarously murdered; as were likewise all who shewed any inclination to quit the settlement.

A pure air, a serene sky, a very temperate climate, though in the 24th degree of south latitude, and a land abounding with corn, sugar, and excellent pasture; all these circumstances conspired to induce the Paulists to lead a life of indolence, ease and effeminacy; but that restlessness so natural to resolute banditti, that desire of dominion, which is nearly connected with a love of independence, the advances of liberty, which lead men to wish for glory of some kind or other, and to distinguish themselves: perhaps all these motives combined, prompted them to forego an easy life, and to engage in troublesome and hazardous excursions.

THE first objects of these excursions was to procure slaves for their cultures. When they had depopulated the adjacent country, they proceeded to the province of Guayra, where the Spanish Jesuits had collected and civilized the Guaranis. These new Christians were exposed to so many massacres, and so many of them were carried off, that they suffered themselves to be persuaded to remove to the unwholesome banks of the Parana and the Uruguay, which they still inhabit. They reaped little advantage from this compliance; for they could promise themselves no tranquillity, unless they were allowed to defend themselves with the same arms as they were attacked with.

To propose that they should be furnished with ~~books~~ such arms, was a matter of too delicate a nature. ix. Spain had laid it down as a fundamental maxim, never to introduce the use of fire-arms among the Indians, lest the unfortunate victims of her insatiable avarice should one day make use of them to free themselves from the yoke that had been imposed upon them. The lawgivers of the Guaraniis applauded this necessary precaution with regard to slaves, who were kept under by compulsion, but they thought it needless with men who were freely attached to the kings of Spain by such easy bands, that they could be under no temptation of breaking them. They so well pleaded the cause of their converts, that in spite of opposition and prejudice, they obtained their request. The Guaraniis were indulged with fire-arms in 1639, and soon made such good use of them, that they became the bulwark of Paraguay, and were able to keep off the Paulists.

THESE desperate men resolved to procure by craft what they could not obtain by force. They repaired to the places where the missionaries were used to resort; and there they set up crosses. Then some of the most intelligent of them, dressed in the habit of Jesuits, made some trifling presents to the savages they met with, and enticed them to follow them to a habitation where every thing was in readiness to make them happy. When they had assembled a certain number, the troops that lay concealed, rushed upon the credulous Indians, loaded

BOOK loaded them with irons, and carried them off.

IX. Some who made their escape gave the alarm, which raised a general suspicion, that occasioned a stop to be put to these hostile proceedings.

THE Paulists then carried on their depredations another way, and extended them as far as the river of the Amazons. They are said to have destroyed no less than a million of Indians. Those who have escaped their fury, in an extent of three or four hundred leagues, are grown more savage than ever, they have fled for safety to the caves of the mountains, or dispersed themselves among the darkest recesses of the forests. Their persecutors have not shared a better fate, having all gradually perished in these dangerous excursions. But to the misfortune of America, their place has been supplied with vagabond Brazilians, fugitive negroes, and Europeans who were fond of the same roving life.

THE same spirit has always prevailed at St. Paul, even after some particular circumstances had induced the people to acknowledge the dominion of Portugal. But their excursions are now carried on in such a manner that they rather promote than obstruct the views of the mother country. By following the course of several rivers, they have attempted to open a way into Peru by the north of Paraguay. The vicinity of the lake of the Xarayes has put them in possession of the gold mines of Cayaba and Matto-Grosso, which they have opened, and still continue to work, without meet-

meeting with any interruption from Spain, who ~~book~~
lays claim to that country. They would have carried their usurpations further, had they not been prevented by the Chiquitos.

WHILE these restless and enterprising men were ravaging the Amazon, the Plata, and the mountains of Peru, the coasts of Brazil daily improved in rich productions. That colony sent over to the mother country thirty-two millions weight of sugar, which was enough for its consumption, and sufficient to supply a great part of Europe; tobacco, which could be disposed of to advantage both in Africa and the European nations; balsam of capivi, a balsamic oil that distils from incisions made in a tree called Copaiba; Ipecacuanha, a very mild emetic which is much used; cocoa, which grew wild in some places, and was cultivated in others; cotton, superior to that of the Levant and the Caribbee islands, and almost equal to the finest that comes from the East Indies; indigo, which the Portuguese have never sufficiently attended to; hides, the produce of oxen that run wild, and have greatly multiplied in the forests; and, lastly, logwood.

THE tree that produces the logwood is as tall and as bushy as our oak; the leaves are small, roundish, and of a fine bright green; the trunk is commonly tortuous, rugged and knotty, like the white-thorn. The blossoms, which resemble lilies of the valley, are of a fine red, and exhale a fragrant smell. The bark is so thick, that there is

WOOD is very little left when the wood is stripped. This
IX. wood is very fit for turnery work, and takes a fine
'polish ; but its chief use is for the red dye. The
trees grows in dry and barren places, and among
the rocks ; it is found in most provinces in the
Brazils, but chiefly in that of Fernambucca ; and
the best of all grows ten leagues from Olinda, the
capital of that captainship.

IN exchange for these commodities, Portugal
supplied the Brazils with flour, wine, brandy, salt,
woollen goods, silks, linen, hard ware and paper ;
in short, all that Europe exports to America, ex-
cept gold and silver stuffs, which the mother coun-
try had, whether properly or not, prohibited in
her colonies.

THE whole trade was carried on by a fleet, which
sailed every year from Lisbon and Oporto in the
month of March, and consisted of twenty or twen-
ty-two ships for Rio-Janeiro, thirty for Bahia, as
many for Fernambucca, and seven or eight for
Para. The ships parted when they came to a cer-
tain latitude, and proceeded to their respective
destinations. They afterwards met at Bahia to
sail for Portugal, which they reached in September
or October the year following, under convoy of
five or six men of war, which had escorted them
at their going out.

MANY judicious persons blamed this regulation,
and thought it would have been better to have left
the merchants at liberty to send out their ships,
and order them home when it suited them best.

This

This prudent system would infallibly have reduced ~~soo~~ ~~x~~ the expence of freight, which must affect the price ~~ix.~~ ~~v-~~ of the commodities. A free trade would have employed more ships, and voyages would have been more frequent. It would have strengthened the navy, and encouraged agriculture. The intercourse between the colonies and the mother country being more frequent, would have given information, which would have enabled government to extend its protection more easily, and to secure its authority.

THE court of Lisbon seemed frequently inclined to yield to these considerations, but was at first deterred by the fear of seeing the ships fall into the enemy's hands, if they sailed separately; and afterwards by the obstacles which the viceroys of Brazil opposed to this alteration. The increase of their fortune and of their greatness required that the business of the colony should be transacted in the capital; so that after having contrived to attract it to that spot, they succeeded in retaining it there; and consequently this town, which is called either Bahia or San Salvador, became a very flourishing city.

THE way to it is by the bay of All Saints, which is two leagues and a half broad at the entrance. On each side stands a fortress, intended rather to prevent landing, than to hinder ships from passing by. It is thirteen or fourteen leagues in length, and interspersed with little islands, which produce cotton, and form an agreeable prospect.

BOOK It grows narrow towards the bottom, which is
IX. sheltered from every attack, and makes an excel-
lent harbour, where the largest fleets may ride in
safety. The town commands this harbour, being
built on the slope of a steep hill. The Dutch had
inclosed it with a rampart of earth, but the Por-
tuguese have let it moulder away, thinking the
town sufficiently defended by a number of little
forts they have erected at small distances, and by
a garrison of four or five hundred men. Any en-
gineer who had skill enough to make every advan-
tage of the situation, might render it impregnable
at a small expence.

The place well deserves this attention. It con-
tains two thousand houses, which are most of them
built with great magnificence. Their furniture
is the more rich and elegant, as extravagance in
dress is strictly prohibited. By a very old law,
which has often been broken, and which extends
to the Brazils since the year 1749, the Portuguese
are forbidden to wear any gold or silver stuffs, or
any laced cloths; but their passion for show, which
no laws can eradicate, has induced them to con-
trive some substitute, and to wear crosses, medals,
and diamond chaplets, or beads, the rich ensigns
of a poor religion. The gold they cannot wear
themselves, they lavish to adorn their domestic
slaves.

As the situation of the town will not admit of
coaches, the rich, who will always be distinguished
from the vulgar, have contrived to be carried in
cotton

cotton hammocks. Supinely stretched upon velvet cushions, and surrounded with silk curtains which they open and shut as they please, those proud and lazy mortals move about more voluptuously, though with less expedition, than in the most easy and elegant carriages. The women seldom enjoy this luxury. These people, who are superstitious to a degree of fanaticism, will hardly allow them to go to church, covered with their cloaks, on their high festivals; and no one is suffered to see them in their own houses. This restraint, which is the effect of an ungovernable jealousy does not prevent their carrying on intrigues, though they are sure of being stabbed to death upon the slightest suspicion. By a lenity more judicious than ours, a girl who, without her mother's consent, or even under her protection, yields to the importunities of a lover, is treated with less severity. But if the father cannot conceal her infamy by disposing of her in marriage, he abandons her to the scandalous trade of a courtesan. Thus it is that riches bring on a train of vices and corruption, especially when they are acquired by bloodshed and murder, and are not preserved by labour.

THE want of society, consequent upon the separation of the sexes, is not the only impediment to the pleasures and enjoyments of Life at Bahia. The hypocrisy of some; the superstition of others; avarice within, and pompous parade without; extreme indulgence, bordering upon extreme cruelty,

BOOK in a climate where all the sensations are quick and
ix. impetuous; the distract that attends weakness; that indolence that trusts every thing to slaves, whether it relates to pleasure or business: all the vices that are to be found, either separately or collectively, in the most corrupt southern countries, constitute the character of the Portuguese at Bahia. However, the depravity of their manners seems to decrease, in proportion as the government of the mother country is more enlightened. Those improvements in knowledge, the abuse of which will sometimes corrupt virtuous nations, may refine and reform a generous people.

THE climate, though a good one, is attended with many inconveniences that lessen its excellence. There is no mutton; poultry is scarce, and the beef is bad. The ants destroy the fruits of the earth, as they do all over the colony. The whales devour the fish, or frighten them out of the bay. On the other hand, the wine, the meal, the salt meats, and all the provisions brought from Europe, are not always found when they arrive; so that the good sells at an extravagant price. All articles of industry are sold at a still most exorbitant rate. The lowest among the Portuguese, wholly employed in the trade of tobacco and some other articles, would think it a disgrace to exercise any art. Few of the free men have either genius or inclination for it. The slaves who make up the greatest part of the population, are all employed by the rich either in labour or for show.

NOTWITHSTANDING these vices, which generally prevailed, though not to the same degree in all parts of the colony, it had long been in a prosperous condition. In the beginning of this century the discovery of the gold mines gave it an additional lustre that occasioned universal astonishment.

THE circumstances that produced this discovery are variously related. The most common opinion is, that a caravan of Portuguese, who went from Rio-Janeiro, penetrated into the continent in 1695. They met with the Paulists, who, in exchange for some European goods, gave them gold dust which they found was procured from the mines of Parana-Panama, situated in that neighbourhood.

A few years after this, a company of soldiers from Rio-Janeiro, who were sent to quell some Indians in the inland parts, found on their march some golden fish-hooks, and were informed that many torrents, rushing down from the mountains, brought gold into the valleys. Upon this information, a strict search was made, and upon the high grounds were found some rocks that contained gold; but this deceitful appearance of treasure was neglected on account of the expence it would have required to get at it; nor was a vein of gold, that runs along an immense space, found rich enough to answer the working of it. After many fruitless trials, the Portuguese contented themselves like the savages, with picking up gold out of the sand, when the waters had sub-

book sided. This practice has proved very successful
IX. at Villa-Rica, and through a very considerable extent of country. The government freely grants from three to five leagues of this precious soil to any one who is able to go and make a fortune there.

SOME blacks are employed in looking for gold in the beds of torrents and rivers, and separating it from the sand and mud, in which is naturally concealed. The most usual custom is, that every slave is required to bring in the eighth part of an ounce of gold a day; and if any of them are so fortunate or so diligent as to pick up more, the overplus is their own property. The first use they make of it, is to buy other slaves to do their work for them, that they in their turn may live in idleness. If a slave brings in the quantity of gold prescribed, his master can require nothing more. It is some consolation to him to be able to alleviate the burden of his slavery, by the very labours that are attached to that state.

If we were to estimate the quantity of gold that Brazil annually supplies, by the fifth that the king of Portugal receives from thence, it might be valued at forty-five millions of livres*; but we shall not be supposed to exaggerate, when we assert that the desire of eluding the duties deprives the government notwithstanding its vigilance of the eighth part of the produce.

To

* 1,968,750L

To this account must be added the silver drawn ~~8000~~^{IX.} from the illicit trade with Buenos Ayres, which was formerly immense; but the measures lately taken by Spain have reduced it to about three millions per annum†. Many people are even surprised that such an intercourse should subsist between two nations, who, having no manufactures of their own, and imposing nearly the same taxes on all foreign industry, ought certainly to have nothing to sell. It is not considered that the coast of Portugal is very extensive, and accessible in all parts, so that the duties on goods exported to America, may be eluded with much greater facility on that coast, than in the peninsula of Cadiz. Besides exchanges are not the only means by which the Spanish specie is conveyed into the Portuguese coffers. Independent of all sale or purchase, the Peruvians find a great advantage in sending their money over to Europe by this indirect road.

THE first political writers who turned their thoughts towards the probable consequences of the discovery made in Brazil, did not hesitate to foretell that the difference of value between gold and silver would be diminished. The experience of all countries and of all ages had taught them that, though many ounces of silver had always been given for an ounce of gold, because mines of the former had always been more common than of the latter, yet the value of both metals had

BOOK varied in every country, in proportion to the abundance of either.

IX. In Japan, the proportion of gold to silver is as one to eight; in China, as one to ten; in other parts of India, as one to eleven, twelve, thirteen or fourteen, as we advance further west.

THE like variations are to be met with in Europe. In ancient Greece, gold was to silver as one to thirteen. When the produce of all the mines in the universe was brought to Rome, the mistress of the world, the most settled proportion was one to ten. It rose as far as one to thirteen under Tiberius. Numberless and infinite variations are to be met with in the barbarous ages. In a word, when Columbus penetrated into America, the proportion was less than one to twelve.

THE quantity of these metals which was then brought from Mexico and Peru, not only made them more common, but still increased the value of gold above silver, as there was greater plenty of the latter in those parts. Spain, that was of course the best judge of the proportion, settled it as one to sixteen in the coin of the kingdom, and this system, with some slight variations, was adopted throughout Europe.

THIS proportion still exists; but we have no reason on that account to contradict those who had foretold that it would alter. If gold has fallen but little in the markets, and not at all in the coin, since the Brazils furnish a great quantity of it, this is owing to particular circumstances, which do

do not affect the principle. A great deal of gold ~~is now used~~ is now used for setting of jewels, and for gilding, ix. which has prevented, the price of silver from falling so much as it would have done if our fashions had not altered. It is this same spirit of luxury that has always kept up the price of diamonds, though they are grown more common.

AT all times men have been fond of making a parade of their riches, either because originally they were the reward of strength, and the mark of power; or because they have every where obtained that regard which is due only to abilities and virtue. A desire of attracting the attention of others, prompts a man to ornament himself with the choicest and most brilliant things nature can supply. The same vanity, in this respect, prevails among the savages as in the civilized nations. Of all the substances that represent the splendour of opulence, none is so precious as the diamond; nor has any been of such value in trade, or so ornamental in society. There are diamonds of all colours, and of every shade of the several colours. The diamond has the red of the ruby, the orange of the hyacinth, the blue of the saphire, and the green of the emerald. This last is the dearest when it is of a beautiful tint. The rose diamonds, blue and yellow are the next in value. The yellowish and the blackish are least esteemed. Transparency and clearness are the natural and essential properties of the diamond, to which art has added

BOOK ded the brilliant and sparkling lustre of the several
IX. faces.

THERE are very few diamond mines. Till of late years, we knew of none but in the East-Indies. The oldest is in the river Gouel, that comes down from the mountains, and falls into the Ganges. It is called the mine of Soulempour, from the name of a village situated near that part of the river where the diamonds are found. Very few diamonds have ever been taken out of it, as likewise out of the Succadan, a river in the island of Borneo. The chain of mountains that extends from Cape Comorin to Bengal, has yielded infinitely more. They are not found in clusters, but scattered up and down, in a sandy, stony and barren soil; lying at six, eight, ten and twelve feet below the surface, and sometimes deeper. The right of digging for them is purchased, and the purchaser is sometimes enriched and sometimes ruined, according as he is either successful or unfortunate.

SOME apprehensions were raised that the continual wars in India would put an end to this source of riches, but these were removed by a discovery that was made at Serra-de-Frio in Brazil. Some slaves who were condemned to look for gold, used to find some little bright stones, that they threw away among the sand and gravel. Some curious miners preferred several of these singular pebbles, which were shewn to Pedro d'Almeida, governor general of the mines. As he had been at Goa, he suf-

suspected that they might be diamonds. To ascertain ~~the~~^{them} this point the court of Lisbon in 1730 commissioned d'Acugna, her minister in Holland, to make necessary inquiries. He put some of these pebbles into the hands of able artificers, who having cut them, declared they were very fine diamonds.

THE Portuguese immediately searched for them with such success, that the Rio Janeiro fleet brought home 1146 ounces. This produced such a plenty, that their price fell considerably; but the ministry took such measures as soon made them rise to their original value, which they have maintained ever since. They conferred on a company the exclusive right of searching for and selling diamonds; and even to restrain the avidity of the company itself, it was required to employ no more than 600 slaves in that business. It has since been permitted to employ as many as it pleases, upon condition that 1500 * livres are paid for every mineral. In both contracts, the court has reserved to itself all diamonds that shall exceed a certain number of carats.

A LAW which forbade on pain of death to encroach upon this privilege, was not sufficient to insure the observance of it. It was imagined to be more effectual to depopulate the places that lay near that rich mine, and to make a solitary waste of all the regions that might be tempted to interfere in so lucrative a trade. Throughout the space of a hundred leagues, there is but one large village left,

* 65l. 12s. 6d.

~~BOOK~~ left, which is wholly inhabited by the company's
IX. agents and slaves.

THEIR privilege constantly protected by the mother country, has never met with the least opposition. The government itself is their agent in Europe. Whatever be the produce of the mines, which must necessarily be fluctuating, the court delivers annually, to one single contractor, diamonds to the value of 12,500,000 livres*. They engage to sell no others, and hitherto this engagement has been held sacred. They are bought up in their rough state by the English and Dutch, who cut them, and then dispose of them all over Europe, but chiefly in France, where the greatest consumption is made. They are neither so hard nor so clear as those of the East-Indies, nor do they sparkle so much, but they are whiter. They are sold ten per cent. cheaper, supposing the weights to be equal.

THE finest diamonds in the world are, that of the Great Mogul, which weighs 279 carats and one sixteenth; that of the Grand Duke, which weighs 139 carats; the great Sancy, of 106 carats; and the Pitt, 136 carats three grains. All these are still very trifling, compared to the diamond sent from Brazil to the king of Portugal; which weighs 1680 carats, or twelve ounces and a half. As we know of no proportion by which to ascertain the value of such a gem, an English writer has ventured to estimate it at 1,298,000,000 of livres,

livres†. A great abatement must be made in this ~~book~~
estimate, if, as some very skillful lapidaries suspect, ix.
it should prove to be but a topaz.

IT is not known whether the diamonds of Brazil grow in the valleys where they are found, or whether they are brought down by an infinite number of torrents that rush into them, and by five small rivers that flow from the neighbouring mountains. What is certain is, that the diamonds do not come from a quarry, that they are scattered about; and that they are picked up in larger quantities in the rainy seasons and after violent storms.

THE gold and diamond mines, added to a rich culture, should have made Brazil the chief colony in the world; but in order to effect this, it should have been preserved from intestine commotions and foreign invasions. Both these objects therefore were taken into consideration.

ALL the mines were situated in the captainships of St. Vincent and Rio Janeiro, and in the adjacent lands. Some were in the hands of the Paulists, and the rest lay exposed to their inroads. As those banditti were too numerous and too ^{Measures taken by the court of Lisbon to secure the produce of the mines.} ~~va-~~ liant to be brought into subjection by force, it was thought adviseable to treat with them. As they could make no use of their new acquired wealth, without a free communication with the ports where the luxuries and conveniences of Europe were to be purchased, they were more tractable than was expected. They consented to pay, like the rest of the

BOOK the Portuguese, a fifth of their gold; but they
IX. determined the amount of this tribute themselves,
and never made it what it ought to have been.

The government was prudent enough not to pay any attention to this fraud. They foresaw that the connections and the new way of life the Paulists were engaged in, would gradually soften their manners, and that sooner or later they would be brought to submit. This revolution accordingly happened about the year 1730. An eloquent, active, and artful man succeeded in prevailing upon the principal men among those adventurers, and the multitude followed their example. The whole republic acknowledged the authority of the court of Lisbon, and in the same manner as all the other Portuguese in the Brazils,

BEFORE this great event, the town of Rio Janeiro had been fortified, which is the mart for the produce of most of the mines, and of the commodities that are procured from the neighbouring captainships for the consumption of Europe. The bay in which it is situated was first discovered in 1555 by Dias de Solis. Some French protestants, who were persecuted in their own country, made a small settlement there under the guidance of Villegagnon. This settlement consisted only of fifteen or twenty huts, made of boughs and covered over with grâs, after the manner of the savages in those parts. Some small bulwarks that were erected for planting of cannon, occasioned the name of Fort Coligni to be given to it. It

was

was destroyed three years after by Emanuel de Sa, B o o k
who laid the foundation of a town on the continent, IX.
which afterwards became considerable by the cul-
ture of tobacco, and especially of sugar. Its si-
tuatjon at so great a distance from Europe, in
 $22^{\circ} 22'$ south latitude, made it reasonable to ima-
gine that moderate fortifications would be sufficient
to defend it. But the temptation of attacking it
having increased in proportion as it grew richer,
it was thought proper to strengthen it with addi-
tional works. These were already very consider-
able, when Du Guay Trouin took it in 1711, with
such intrepidity and skill, as redounded much to
his honour, and was a great addition to the fame
he had already acquired. The new fortifications
that have since been added to those the French had
mastered, have not made the town more impreg-
nable, as it may be attacked on other sides, where
the landing is very practicable. If gold can make
its way into brazen towers through iron gates, much
more will iron break down the gates that defend
gold and diamonds. And indeed the ~~com~~ of
Lisbon has not thought it sufficient to fortify Rio
Janeiro.

BETWEEN the captainship of St. Vincent and
the mouth of the Plata, is a barren coast, about
150 leagues in length. As nothing invited the
Portuguese to settle there, it was always totally
neglected. But the gold lately found in the rivers
that water those deserts, has attracted some co-
lonists there; and the government has bestowed
its

is occupied by its attention in endeavouring to give some stability
IX. to this new channel of wealth. It has established
some posts along the coast, and fortified St. Catherine.

THIS island, which is only parted from the continent by a very small canal, is about nine leagues long, and two leagues broad. Though the land is not low, it is not seen at a distance, because it is shaded by the neighbouring mountains on the continent. Navigators find there a perpetual spring, excellent water, great plenty of wood, a variety of delicious fruits, vegetables which are so welcome to sailors, and a pure air, except in the harbour, where the hills intercept the circulation of air, and make it constantly damp and unwholesome.

ONE hundred and fifty or two hundred banditti, who had taken refuge in this island towards the beginning of this century, acknowledged the authority of Portugal, but did not adopt the interested and exclusive system of that state. They admitted indiscriminately the ships of all nations that were sailing to the South Seas, and gave them the produce of their island in exchange for arms, brandy, linen and wearing apparel. Besides their contempt for gold, they shewed an indifference for all the conveniences that nature did not supply them with, which would have done honour to virtuous men.

THE scum and refuse of civilized bodies may sometimes produce a well-regulated society. The iniquity of our laws, the unjust distribution of pro-

property; the miseries of want, the insolence and ~~book~~ impunity of wealth, and the abuse of power, often make rebels and criminals. If we collect together all those unfortunate men who are banished from society by the too great rigour and often the injustice of the laws; and give them an intrepid, generous, humane and enlightened chief; we shall make these profligate men become honest, tractable and rational. If their necessities urge them to war, they will become conquerors; and to aggrandize themselves they will violate the rights of nations, though strict observers of their own reciprocal duties: such were the Romans. If for want of an able leader, they are left to chance and natural events, they will be mischievous, restless, rapacious, unsettled, for ever at war, either among themselves or with their neighbours: such were the Paulists. Lastly, if they can more easily live upon the natural fruits of the earth, or by agriculture and trade, than by plunder; they will contract the virtues proper to their situation, and the mild inclinations that arise from a rational love of ease. Civilized by the happiness and security of an honest and peaceable life, they will respect in others those rights which they themselves enjoy, and will barter the superfluities of their produce, for the conveniences of other nations: such were the people who had taken refuge at St. Catherine's.

BANISHED from their native country by the dread of those atrocious punishments too often inflicted on slight offences, they formed a commer-

~~BOOK~~ ^{IX.} ~~ocial~~ settlement, which was beneficial even to the country that had rejected them. About the year 1738, the crown sent them a governor, and fortifyed their harbour. As it is far superior to any on that coast, it is easy to foresee that, if the riches of those parts answer the expectations that have been raised of them, that asylum of vagabonds will in time become the chief colony of the Brazils, and the most considerable sea-port in all South-America.

~~Méans em-~~ It appears from this account, that the court of Lisbon has taken the most prudent measures to secure to itself the produce of the mines. The in the Brazils, which same attention has not been paid to the culture of lands, nor has that point been so well settled; yet account of that inestimable source of riches was then in a critical situation that required mature consideration.

ALL the European nations that had settlements in America, began to cultivate the same productions that had long enriched the Brazils. This competition had reduced the price of those commodities; and the Portuguese, notwithstanding they laboured as much as ever, found that their profits grew constantly less. These labours became irksome to them, and many abandoned them entirely, tempted by the hopes of enriching themselves by picking up gold. Had the mother country understood her true interest, and been less elated with this new source of riches, the misfortunes it gave rise to, might have been prevented. This might easily have been done, by taking off

the

the enormous duties which the colonies paid for **B O O K**
all the goods they exported or imported; or if it
had been found necessary, by giving encoura-
gements, which her new treasures enabled her to do
with a liberal hand. This would have induced the
planter, who knew his soil to be far superior to
that of the Antilles, and was not ignorant of the
other advantages he had over the colonists engaged
in clearing those islands, to persevere in a labour
which must procure him a comfortable subsistence,
if not an ample fortune, without any anxiety or
uncertainty.

ALL persons who have attentively observed Ame-
rica, know that the coasts of Brazil are very fer-
tile. The sugar-canæs are stronger than those of
the rival colonies, and other productions have the
same superiority. The inhabitants are not reduced
to the necessity of manuring a poor or an exhaust-
ed soil. There is such plenty of land, that when
one piece of ground is spent, a fresh one may be
broke up, that will yield plentiful crops without
much trouble. The inland parts only want hands
to till them, and many navigable rivets are ready
to convey the produce to the sea. The plantations
are never destroyed by hurricanes, or parched
with drought. There are few situations in the
Brazils where the intemperatute of the air shortens
the lives of those who are usefully employed in
the labours of the fields, and none where the in-
habitants are swept away by that dreadful mor-
tality, so frequent in many parts of America.

BOOK Every undertaking is carried on with ease by the

IX. assistance of the numberless flocks with which the plains are covered. The slave does not impatiently expect his subsistence to be conveyed to him over stormy seas, which when it arrives is often at such an immoderate price, that he cannot always procure a sufficiency. He finds without much trouble a wholesome and plentiful provision upon the very land he cultivates. The master, on his part, can be under no apprehension of seeing an end to his good fortune, as he well knows that the colony has not yet attained to a tenth of its culture. One hundred and fifty thousand blacks are already employed there, which are annually recruited by 7 or 8000, and may easily be multiplied. As it is customary for the planter to import them directly from Africa, he has nothing to fear from the negligence, unskillfulness or dishonesty of the European merchants. His ships have the double advantage of making a small stay at the end of their voyage, and of a short and easy passage both going and coming.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these advantages, the culture of Brazil produced but 22,000,000 weight of raw sugar, 11 or 12,000 bales of tobacco, a small quantity of sarsaparilla, cocoa, coffee, rice and indigo; to which were added some whalebone, woods for dying, building, and cabinet work, and 14 or 15,000 hides.

AMONG all the methods devised for increasing the produce of so rich a country, the Portuguese ministry

ministry have preferred that of giving freedom to ~~BOOK~~
the Brazilians, as being the safest, the cheapest, IX.
and the most humane. They declared in 1755,
that for the future, all the subjects of the crown,
whether they were so by their own free will or by
compulsion, should be deemed citizens to all in-
tents and purposes, and should be entitled to that
appellation on the same terms as the Europeans.
No other duties are imposed upon them ; the same
path is open to their talents, and they may acquire
the same honours. No other power has treated its
American subjects with so much humanity. This
singular circumstance, though so striking, has not
even been taken notice of. Every one is intent
upon politics, war, pleasure or fortune. A re-
volution so favourable to mankind escapes every
eye, even in the middle of the eighteenth century,
in this enlightened and philosophical age. The
public good is the general topic of conversation,
but we neither perceive it nor are sensible of it
when it takes place.

PORtUGAL would receive a sufficient compensa-
tion for this indifference, if the new system had
produced the desired effect. We should see the
Brazilians applying themselves to the culture of
their lands, and multiplying their produce. Their
labour would enable them to procure numberless
comforts which they have not enjoyed. The view
of their happiness would tempt the savages to quit
their forests, and to embrace a more quiet way of
life. By degrees, the influence of their example
would

BOOK would spread, and in time, all Brazil would be,
IX. come civilized. A mutual confidence would be,
established between the Americans and the Europeans, and they would become but one nation. All would concur in producing the stock of an immense trade to the mother country, which on her part would not neglect to send a constant supply for the increasing consumption of the colony. An exact balance would be kept up between their reciprocal interests, and great care would be taken that nothing should interrupt so valuable a harmony. In a word, the Portuguese, by one act of humanity, would have made amends for all the injuries they have done the inhabitants of America.

UNFORTUNATELY these flattering prospects have all proved chimerical. It might have been reasonable to form expectations of their success, if this great change had been brought on by slow degrees. The Brasilians might insensibly have been attached to the comforts of society; they might have been trained up to useful labours; they would gradually have got the better of their natural laziness, and been inspired with a desire of possessing property. A happy revolution being thus prepared by these mild measures, much would still have remained to be done, which seems to have escaped the penetration of the ministry. They have neglected granting lands to the new subjects in convenient situations. They have not made them sufficient advances. They have not
^{sup}

supplied them with able guides to direct them ; book nor have their chiefs been men of integrity and humanity. Nothing, therefore, has been done for the public good, by granting civil liberty to the Brazilians ; and much has been done against it, by abridging the Europeans of their freedom, in subjecting them to the tyrannical monopoly of an exclusive privilege. No person had foreseen, or even suspected, a regulation so contrary to the genius of the nation.

PORTUGAL has made immense discoveries in Africa, and in the East and West-Indies, without the assistance of any company. Mere societies of merchants, in which kings, princes, and noblemen were concerned, fitted out large fleets for those three parts of the world, raised the Portuguese name above all others, and brought about the most important and interesting revolution in commerce the universe had ever experienced. It was not to be expected that a nation, which, in the barbarous ages, had pursued the inestimable advantages of competition, would at last, in an enlightened age, adopt a pernicious system, which, by collecting the principles of life and motion into a small part of the body politic, leaves all the rest in a state of inactivity and ruin.

THIS system was formed among the ruins of Lisbon, when the earth had as it were cast out her inhabitants, and left them no asylum or place of safety but on the sea, or in the other hemisphere. The dreadful shocks which had subverted that

BOOK superb capital were still repeated, and the flames
ix. that had reduced it to ashes were scarce extinguished, when an exclusive company was established, for the purpose of selling to foreign nations the wine so well known by the name of Port, which is drunk in many of the colonies, in part of the north, and especially in England. The city of Oporto, the first in the kingdom for its population, riches and commerce, since Lisbon had as it were disappeared, justly took the alarm, thinking that her trade would be ruined by this fatal alienation of the rights of the whole nation, in favour of a company. The province between the Douro and the Minho, the most fruitful in the kingdom, formed no further expectations from its cultures. Despair excited a spirit of sedition among the people, and this gave occasion to the cruelties of the government. Twelve hundred persons were either executed, condemned to public labour, banished to the forts in Africa, or reduced to poverty by the confiscation of their possessions. The monopoly which had occasioned all these misfortunes still continued, and prevails even at this day, attended with all that train of evils which were foreseen, even by those who are least conversant in political speculation.

THIS fatal experiment, which ought to have enlightened the ministry, made no impression upon them. They had already, ever since the 6th of June 1755, created the Maragnan company; and far from receding, they erected the Fernan-

bucca company four years after, and thereby en-
slaved all the northern part of Brazil. The stock
of the first company consisted of 1200 shares, and
the other of 3400. Their charter is for twenty
years, and foreigners settled in Portugal may be-
come proprietors. They exercise the most horrid
tyranny over the immense coast that has been con-
signed to them. This attempt against public li-
berty and the right of property has excited a vio-
lent spirit of animosity, which is constantly kept
up by the evident diminution of the productions.

WE are ignorant of the reasons that have induc-
ed the court of Lisbon to take a step, which has
given offence to all orders of the state, and all
parts of the monarchy. It is impossible that so
tyrannical a measure should have been adopted,
with no other view than to prevent the contraband
trade, as it hath been asserted. Besides that ex-
clusive companies are from their nature more like-
ly to increase the contraband trade, it is well
known that none is carried on in the south of Bra-
zil, the only part that is affected by the monopoly.
The only foreign connections this part of America
has, are the transactions of St. Catherine with the
ships that frequent the South Seas, and those of
Rio-Janeiro with ships of different nations, which,
under various pretences, put in there in their pas-
sage to and from the East Indies.

WHATEVER motives may have given rise to
charter companies, we may venture to affirm that
among the powers of Europe, Portugal has not
been

Spain been the greatest loser by this absurd system. That kingdom has adopted the fatal custom of being in some measure a mere spectator of the trade that is carried on in its own colonies. So singular an infatuation has been brought on by degrees.

Causes of the decay of Portugal, and of its colonies. THE first conquests of the Portuguese in Africa and Asia, did not stifle the seeds of their industry. Though Lisbon was become the general warehouse for India goods, her own silken and woollen manufactures were still carried on, and were sufficient for the consumption of the mother country and of Brazil. The national activity extended to every thing, and made some amends for the deficiency of population, which was becoming daily more considerable. Amidst the various calamities that Spanish tyranny oppressed the kingdom with, the Portuguese could not complain of a cessation of labour at home; nor was the number of manufactures much lessened at the time when they recovered their liberty.

THE happy revolution that placed the Duke of Braganza upon the throne, was the period of this decay. A spirit of enthusiasm seized upon the people. Some of them crossed the seas, in order to defend distant possessions against an enemy who was imagined to be more formidable than he really was. The rest took up arms to cover the frontiers. The interests of the whole nation prevailed, over private views, and every patriot was solicitous only for his country. It might naturally be expected that when the first enthusiasm was past, every one would resume his usual employment; but

but unfortunately the cruel war, which followed ~~BOOK~~ IX.
that great event, was attended with such devastations in an open country, that the people chose rather not to work at all, than to expose themselves to see the fruit of their labours continually destroyed. The ministry encouraged this spirit of indolence by measures which cannot be too severely censured.

THEIR situation put them under a necessity of forming alliances. Political reasons secured to them all the enemies of Spain. The advantages they must necessarily reap from the diversion made in Portugal, could not attach them to its interest. If the new court had formed such extensive views as from the nature of their enterprise it might be presumed they had, they would have known that they had no need to make any concessions in order to acquire friends. By an ill-judged precipitation, they ruined their affairs. They gave up their trade to other powers, who were almost as much interested in its preservation as they were themselves. This infatuation made those powers imagine they might venture any thing, and they therefore unreasonably extended the privileges that had been granted them. The industry of the Portuguese was destroyed by this competition, but was again revived by an error of the French ministry.

FRANCE, which then had but a small quantity of bad tobacco, and no sugar at all, in 1644, resolved without any apparent reason, to prohibit the importation of sugar and tobacco from Brazil. Portugal,

BOOK tugal, by way of reprisal, prohibited the importation of all French manufactures, the only ones it valued at that time. Genoa immediately seized upon the silk trade, and has engrossed it ever since; but the nation, after some hesitation, began in 1681, to manufacture their own woollen goods; and by the assistance of some English artificers, were enabled, in 1684, to prohibit several kinds of foreign cloth, and soon after to forbid them all.

ENGLAND, which had raised her own trade with Portugal upon the ruins of that of France, was much chagrined at these arrangements. For a long time, the English strove to open the communication afresh, and more than once when they thought they had accomplished this, they found themselves totally disappointed in their expectations. It was impossible to discover in what manner these attempts would end, when a revolution happened in the political system of Europe, which at once overturned all the former ideas.

A GRANDSON of Lewis XIV. was called to the throne of Spain. All nations were alarmed at this accession of power to the house of Bourbon, which they already thought too formidable, and too ambitious. Portugal in particular, which has always considered France as a firm friend, now beheld in her an enemy who must necessarily desire, and, perhaps, promote her ruin. This induced her to apply for the protection of England, which being accustomed to turn every negociation to her own commercial advantage took care not to neglect so favourable

avourable an opportunity. The English ambassador B O O K Methuen, a profound and able negotiator, signed a IX. treaty, on the 27th of December 1703, by which the court of Lisbon engaged to permit the importation of all British woollen goods, on the same footing as before the prohibition; upon condition that the Portugal wines should pay a duty one third less than those of France, to the custom-house in England.

THE advantages of this stipulation were very certain for one of the parties, but only probable for the other. England obtained an exclusive privilege for her manufactures, as the prohibition remained in full force with regard to those of other nations; but granted nothing on her part, having already settled, for her own interest, what she now artfully represented as a great favour done to Portugal. Since France had bought no more cloths of the English, they had observed that the high price of French wines was prejudicial to the balance of trade, and had therefore endeavoured to lessen the consumption, by laying heavier duties upon them. They have again increased them from the same motive, and still made a merit of it to the court of Lisbon, as being a proof of their friendship,

THE Portuguese manufactures fell, being unable to support the competition of the English. Great Britain clothed her new ally, and as the wine, oil, salt, and fruit she bought, was a trifle in comparison to what she sold, it was necessary
that

BOOK that the deficiency should be supplied with the
IX. gold of Brazil. The balance inclined more and
more in favour of the English, and it was scarce
possible that it should not.

ALL persons who are conversant with the theory
of commerce, or have attended to its revolutions,
know that an active, rich and intelligent nation,
which has once appropriated to itself any consider-
able branch of trade, will soon engross all the less
important branches of it. It has such great ad-
vantages over its competitors, that it disgusts them,
and makes itself master of the countries where its
industry is exerted. Thus it is that Great Britain
has found means to engross all the productions of
Portugal and her colonies.

IT furnishes Portugal with clothing, food, hard
ware, materials for building, and all articles of
luxury, and returns her own materials manufac-
tured. This employs a million of English artifi-
cers or husbandmen.

IT furnishes her with ships, and with naval and
warlike stores for her settlements in America, and
carries on all her navigation in Europe.

IT carries on the whole money trade of Portu-
gal. Money is borrowed in London at three or
three and a half per cent, and negociated at Lis-
bon, where it is worth ten. In ten years time,
the capital is returned by the interest, and still re-
mains due.

IT engrosses all the inland trade. There are
English houses settled at Lisbon which receive all
the

the commodities of their own country, and distribute them to merchants, who dispose of them in the provinces, mostly for the profit of their employers. A small profit is the only reward of this industry, which is disgraceful to a nation that works at home for the benefit of another.

IT carries off even the commission trade. The fleets destined for the Brazils are the sole property of the English. The riches they bring back must belong to them. They will not even suffer them to pass through the hands of the Portuguese, and only borrow or purchase their name, because they cannot do without it. These strangers disappear as soon as they have acquired the fortune they intend, and leave that nation impoverished and exhausted, at whose expence they have enriched themselves. It is demonstrable from the registers of the fleets, that in the space of sixty years, that is, from the discovery of the mines to the year 1756, 2,400,000,000 livres * worth of gold have been brought away from Brazil, and yet in 1754, all the specie in Portugal amounted to no more than 15 or 20,000,000 †, and at that time the nation owed 72,000,000 §. From this account we may easily judge of its situation.

BUT what Lisbon has lost, London has gained. England, by her natural advantages, was only intended for a secondary power. Though the changes that had successively happened in the religion, go-

vernment,

* 105,000,000. † On an average not much more than 750,000L. § 3,150,000L

book government, and industry of the English had im-
proved their condition, increased their strength,
' and unfolded their genius, they could not possibly
act a capital part. They knew by experience that
the means which, in ancient governments, could
raise a nation to any height, when without any
connection with its neighbours, it emerged as it
were singly out of nothing, were insufficient in
modern times, when the intercourse of nations
making the advantages of each common to all,
left to numbers and strength their natural superio-
rity. Since soldiers, generals and nations have
hired themselves to engage in war ; since the power
of gold hath opened every cabinet and made eve-
ry treaty ; England had learned that the greatness
of a state depended upon its riches, and that its
political power was estimated in proportion to its
millions. This truth, which must have alarmed
the ambition of the English, became favourable
to them as soon as they had prevailed upon Por-
tugal to depend on them for necessaries, and had
bound them by treaties to an impossibility of pro-
curing them from any other power. Thus was
that kingdom made dependent on a false friend for
food and raiment. These were, to borrow the
expression of a certain politician, like two anchors
which the Britons had fastened upon that empire.
They went further still : they made the Portuguese
lose all consideration, all weight, all influence in
the general system of affairs, by persuading them
to have neither forces nor alliances. Trust to us,

said the English; for your safety ; we will negotiate and fight for you. Thus without bloodshed or labour, and without experiencing any of the evils that attend upon conquest, they made themselves more effectually masters of Portugal than the Portuguese were of the mines of Brazil.

ALL things are connected together, both in nature and politics. It is hardly possible that a nation should lose its agriculture and its industry, without a visible decay of the liberal arts, letters, sciences, and all the sound principles of policy and government. The kingdom of Portugal furnishes a melancholy instance of this truth. Since Great Britain has condemned it to a state of inaction, it is fallen into such barbarism as is scarce credible. The light which has shone all over Europe, stopping at the Pyrenees, which seem to reflect it back again, hath not extended itself to the frontiers of Portugal. That kingdom has even been observed to degenerate, and to attract the contempt of those, whose emulation and jealousy it had before excited. The advantage of having enjoyed excellent laws, while all other states were involved in horrible confusion ; this inestimable advantage has been of no service to the Portuguese. They have lost the turn of their genius, by forgetting the principles of reason, morality, and politics. The efforts they may make to emerge from this state of degeneracy and infatuation, might, possibly, prove ineffectual ; because good reformers are not easily to be found in that nation which stands most in

BOOK need of them. Men who are qualified to cause
IX. revolutions in empires, are generally prepared to it
by previous circumstances ; and seldom start up at
once. They generally have their forerunners, who
have awakened the minds of the people, disposed
them to receive the light, and prepared the neces-
sary means for bringing about these great changes.
As there is no appearance of any such preparatory
steps in Portugal, it is to be feared the nation
must still continue in this humiliating condition,
unless it will adopt the maxims of more enlighten-
ed states, with proper precautions suited to its si-
tuation ; and unless it calls in the assistance of fo-
reigners capable of directing it.

Means of
restoring
Portugal
and its co-
lonies.

THE first step towards its recovery, that leading
one without which all the rest would be unsteady,
uncertain, useless, and perhaps, dangerous, would
be to shake off the yoke of England. Portugal
in her present situation, cannot subsist without fo-
reign commodities ; therefore, it is her interest to
promote the greatest competition of sellers she
possibly can, in order to reduce the price of what
she is obliged to buy. As it is no less the interest
of the Portuguese to dispose of the overplus of
their own produce and that of the colonies, they
ought, for the same reason, to invite as many pur-
chasers as possible to their harbours, to enhance the
price and increase the quantity of their exports. These
political measures are certainly liable to no objection.

By the treaty of 1703, the Portuguese are only
obliged to permit the importation of woollen
goods

goods from England, on the terms stipulated before the prohibition. They might grant the same privilege to other nations, without incurring the reproach of having broken their engagement. A liberty granted to one nation, was never interpreted as an exclusive and perpetual privilege, that could deprive the prince who granted it, of his right of extending it to other nations. He must necessarily be the judge of what suits his own kingdom. It is not easy to conceive what rational objection a British minister could make to a king of Portugal who should tell him ; I will encourage merchants to come to my dominions, who will feed my subjects as cheap and cheaper than you ; merchants who will take the produce of my colonies, from whence you will receive nothing but gold.

We may judge of the effect this wise conduct would have, by the events that have taken place, independent of this spirited resolution. Portugal receives annually to the value of seventy millions of livres* in foreign commodities, which she either pays for with the produce of her land, and with gold and diamonds, or remains in debt. The allurement of a profit of thirty-five per cent. which is not uncommon in this trade, induces all nations to be concerned in it as much as possible ; nor are they deterred from it by the well-grounded fear of being never paid, or at least very late. Most of them have been successful in their endeavours. France and Italy have engrossed one third of those

. Q 2

im-

* 3,062,500l.

B O O K imports. Holland, Hamburg, and the rest of
ix. the north carry off as much ; and England, which
 formerly absorbed almost the whole, takes up the
 remaining third. It appears from the registers of
 the customs, that in the space of five years, from
 1762, to 1766 inclusively, England has sent goods
 to Portugal only to the value of 95,613,547 li-
 vres 10 sous* ; and has received commodities to
 the amount of 37,761,075 livres† ; so that the
 balance in money has been but 57,692,475 livress.

THE circumstance which deceives all Europe, with regard to the extent of the English trade, is that all the gold of Brazil is conveyed by the road of the Thames. This seems to be a natural and necessary consequence of the affairs carried on by that nation. But the truth is, that metals are not allowed to go out of Portugal, and, therefore, can only be brought away by men of war, which are not liable to be searched ; that Great Britain sends two every week, as regularly as the sea will permit ; and that these ships bring the riches of all nations into their island, from whence the merchants dispersed in the several countries receive them either in kind, or in bills of exchange, paying one per cent.

THE British ministry, who are not the dupes of these dazzling appearances, and are but too sensible of the diminution of this most valuable branch of their trade, have for some time past taken incredible pains

* 4,183,092l. 14s. 4d. $\frac{3}{4}$.

† 1,652,047l. os. 7d. $\frac{1}{2}$.

§ 2,524,045l. 15s. 7d. $\frac{1}{2}$.

pains to restore it to its former state. Their endeavours will never succeed, because this is one of those events which are not within the reach of political wisdom. If the evil arose from favours granted to rival nations, or if England had been debarred from her former privileges, some well conducted negotiations might occasion a new revolution. But the court of Lisbon has never varied its conduct neither with Great Britain nor with other states. Her subjects have had no other inducement to give the preference to the merchandise brought them from all parts of Europe, than because those of their former friends were so loaded with taxes, that they bore an exorbitant price. The Portuguese will procure many articles at a still more reasonable rate, whenever their government shall establish a perfect equality in their ports between all nations.

THE court of Lisbon, after removing in some measure the disadvantages of their trade, which is merely passive, should endeavour to make it active. Their own turn, the taste of the age, and the desire of fame, seem to incline them to pretty considerable manufactures. A quantity of coarse woollen stuffs is already woven in the inland provinces, though the wool is too short, and might be better employed to other purposes. The government has silk manufactures at Lisbon and at Lamego, which cost more than they are worth. If they do not weave gold or silver, it is because the wear of them is strictly prohibited both in the mo-

BOOK other country, and in the colonies. We have al-
ix. ready proved that this kind of industry was not
fit for Spain ; and for the same reasons it is impro-
per for Portugal ; which ought rather to turn its
views to the encouragement of agriculture.

Its climate is favourable to the production of
silk, of which there was formerly great plenty.
The baptised Jews made it their business to breed
worms, and to prepare the silk, till they were per-
secuted by the inquisition, which was still more
severe and more powerful under the house of Bra-
ganza, than it had ever been under the Spanish
dominion. Most of the manufacturers fled to the
kingdom of Valencia, and those who sold the pro-
duce of their labours removed with their effects to
England and Holland, which improved the adeli-
vity of both those countries. This dispersion was
the ruin of the silk trade in Portugal, so that no
trace of it remains at present ; but it might be
resumed.

THE next cultivation that ought to be attended
to, is that of the olive tree. It is now carried on,
and constantly supplies all the oil that is wanted
for home consumption, besides a small quantity
every year for exportation ; but this is not suffi-
cient. It would be an easy matter for Portugal to
share in a more direct manner with other nations
the profits they draw from this production, which
is wholly confined to the southern provinces of
Europe.

THEIR wool is likewise capable of improvement. Though it is inferior to that of Spain, the French, the Dutch, and even the English, buy up twelve or thirteen thousand quintals every year, and would purchase a greater quantity if it were brought to the market. Those who have travelled through Portugal, with that spirit of observation, which enables men to form a right judgment of things, are of opinion that double the quantity might be obtained, without injuring the other branches of industry, and that on the contrary, it might tend to their improvement.

THE trade of salt seems to have been more closely attended to. The north annually takes off 150 tons, which may cost 1,500,000*. It is corrosive, and takes off from the weight and flavour of our food; but has the advantage of preserving fish and meat longer than French salt. This property will occasion a greater demand for it in proportion as the navigation of the country is extended.

IT is impossible to say as much of their wines. They are so indifferent, that it is surprising how so many nations in Europe could ever think of making them their constant drink. It is still more surprising how the Portuguese ministry could ever make such an ill use of their authority, as to put a stop to so profitable a culture. The order for rooting up the vines could only be dictated by private interest or false views. The pretence for so

BOOK extraordinary a law is so absurd, that no one has
IX. given credit to it. It is very well known that the ground where the vines have stood, can never be fit for the culture of corn.

BUT if this were ever so practicable, it would still be an unwarrantable infringement of the sacred and unalienable right of property. In a monastery every thing belongs to all: nothing is the property of any individual, but the joint property of the whole community; it is one single animal with twenty, thirty, forty, a thousand, ten thousand heads. But it is not the same in society. Here every individual has the disposal of himself and his property; he possesses a share of the general wealth, which he is absolute master of, and may use, or even abuse, as he thinks proper. A private man must be at liberty to let his ground lie fallow, if he chuses it, without the intervention of administration. If government assumes a right to judge of the abuse of property, it will soon take upon itself to judge of the use of it; and then every true idea of liberty and property will be destroyed. If it can require me to employ my own property according to its fancy; if it inflict punishments on my disobedience, my negligence or my folly, and that under pretence of general and public utility, I am no longer absolute master of my own, I am only an administrator, who is to be directed by the will of another. The man who lives in society, must in this respect be left at liberty to be a bad citizen, because he will soon be

severely punished by poverty, and by contempt, ~~B O O K~~
which is worse than poverty. He who burns his ~~own corn,~~ or throws his money away, is a fool too
rarely to be met with, to make it necessary to bind
him by prohibitive laws, which would be injurious
in themselves, by their infringement of the uni-
versal and sacred notion of property. In every
well regulated constitution, the business of the ma-
gistrate must be confined to what concerns the
public safety, inward tranquillity, the conduct of
the army, and the observance of the laws. Wherever
authority is extended beyond this, we may affirm
that the people are exposed to oppression. If we
take a survey of all ages and nations, that great
and sublime idea of public utility will present it-
self to our imagination under the symbolical figure
of a Hercules, crushing one part of the people
with his club, amidst the shouts and acclamations
of the other part, who are not sensible that they
are soon to fall under the same strokes.

To return to Portugal; that country stands in
need of other measures than have hitherto been
pursued to restore the most important of its cul-
tures. It is so inconsiderable, that the Portuguese
annually import three fourths of the corn they con-
sume. It is well known that before they had ap-
plied themselves to navigation, they supplied great
part of the Mediterranean with corn, and some-
times England itself. Their own wants now call
for the exertion of their activity. Nothing but a
total impossibility can justify a government, that
suffers

BOOK suffers both the mother country and her colonies
IX. to depend upon other nations for the common ne-
cessaries of life.

THE court of Lisbon would lay under a fatal mistake, if it should imagine that time alone will bring about so great a revolution. It behoves it to pave the way for this revolution, by diminishing the taxes, and by changing the mode of raising them, which is often more oppressive than the tax itself. When the impediments are removed, every kind of encouragement must be given. One of the most fatal prejudices, and most destructive of the happiness of men and the prosperity of nations, is that which supposes that men only are wanting for the purposes of agriculture. The experience of all ages has shown, that much cannot be required of the earth, till much has been bestowed upon it. There are not, perhaps, in all Portugal, twenty farmers who are able to advance the necessary sums. Government should, therefore, assist them. A revenue of about forty-four millions *, near one half of which it draws from the mother country, and the rest from the colonies, will facilitate this liberality, which is frequently more economical than the most sordid avarice.

THIS first change will be productive of others. The arts necessary to agriculture will infallibly rise and grow up with it. Industry will extend its several branches, and Portugal will no longer exhibit an instance of a savage people in the midst of civilized

* 1,925,000L.

vilized nations. The citizen will no longer be ~~book~~
forced to devote himself to celibacy, or to leave IX.
his country in search of employment. Commodi-
ous houses will be erected upon ruins; and ma-
nufactures supply the place of convents. The
subjects of this almost ruined state, which now
resemble those scattered and solitary shrubs that are
found upon the soil of the richest mines, will no
longer be reduced to those necessities they now ex-
perience, notwithstanding their mountains and ri-
vers of gold. The wealth of the state will be
kept in constant circulation, and will no longer be
buried in the churches. Superstition will be ba-
nnished, together with ignorance, despair, and in-
dolence. Those who have no other object in view,
but to commit excesses, and expiate them, who are
fond of miracles and magic arts, will then be in-
flamed with public spirit. The nation freed from
its fetters, and restored to its natural activity, will
exert itself with a spirit worthy of its former ex-
ploits.

PORTUGAL will then recollect, that she was in-
debted to her navy for her opulence, her glory, and
her strength, and will attend to the means of re-
storing it. It will no longer be reduced to eighteen
men of war, ill built, and as ill manned and armed,
and about a hundred merchant-men, from six to
eight hundred tons burden, which are still in a
more ruinous state. Her population, which has
insensibly sunk from three millions of souls to
eighteen hundred thousand, will increase and fill
her

BOOK her harbours and roads with active fleets. The
IX. revival of her navy, will be doubtless difficult for
'a power whose flag is not known on any of the
European seas, and which, for a century past, has
given up her navigation to any power that would
attend to it ; but every obstacle will be surmounted
by a wise and prudent government. When once it
carries on all the navigation that should belong to
it, immense sums will be retained in the kingdom,
which are now constantly expended for freight.

THIS change will extend its influence to the
islands that are dependent on Portugal. The port
of Madeira will no longer be open to the English.
The mother country will have the sole power of
disposing of twenty five or thirty thousand pipes
of madeira which that island produces. It will be
in the roads of Lisbon and Oporto that all nations
will supply themselves with that wine, which is in
such request in the four quarters of the globe.
The Azores will furnish Portugal for the purposes
of agriculture, for its own consumption, and for
salt provisions, with oxen, which it is prevented
from breeding by the dryness of its soil ; and the
Cape de Verd islands will supply it with more
mules than it wants. The New England people
formerly procured them from thence to carry to
the Caribbee islands ; but a great mortality that
happened in 1750, put an end to that trade. This
deficiency will soon be made good by a proper at-
tention to the breeding of this cattle.

THESE alterations will be productive of still ~~BOOK~~ more material ones. Brazil, which has no other defect than that of being too large for Portugal; which has only a few habitations scattered along the sea coasts; and has no other colonists in the inland parts, but such as are employed in the mines, will then assume a new aspect: its government will be new modelled. It will become evident how great a mistake ~~has~~ been committed with regard to all modern nations, by transferring to the new discovered world all the absurdities which the barbarism of the feudal government had accumulated in the old through a long series of ages. A few plain laws will be substituted in the place of the subtle arts of chicane, which are no more than refinements on tyranny, and an increase of oppression.

THE execution of these laws will be secured, if employments are not sold, and if a proper choice is made; and good governors appointed to command Para, Bahia, and Rio Janeiro, who shall be independent of each other, though the latter shall have the title of viceroy. The vigilance of the three chiefs will put an end to the treacheries and enormities which the Brazilian Portuguese have too long been guilty of, or caused their slaves to commit.

HAVING thus reformed their manners, the next step will be to regulate their administration. The liberty of sending out ships from the mother country at pleasure, which has been substituted to the op-

BOOK oppressive mode of carrying on trade by fleets,
IX. will be productive of other favourable innovations.
Expeditions will not be confined to the roads of
Lisbon and Oporto, because as the other ports bear
their part in the public expences, it is fit they
should enjoy the same advantages. Exclusive com-
panies will be abolished. That load of taxes,
which is the bane of Europe, will no longer op-
press the Brazils. This colony will no longer be
devoured by those numerous contractors who are
the ruin of the most successful labours. The mo-
ther country will be convinced that she has no
right to demand any thing of her colonies but
their productions. These productions themselves
will not in the first instance be clogged with enor-
mous duties, which prevent them from being cir-
culated. Gold, that mark of all other riches, that
most valuable commodity of Brazil, freed from
the fetters that obstructed its progress, will freely
circulate in all countries which can supply com-
modities in exchange for it. It will no longer be
necessary that Dutch, French, and English men
of war should favour or conceal the fraudulent ex-
portation of it under the sanction of their flag.

AGRICULTURE, ennobled by liberty, will shake
off the yoke of oppression, to which ignorance,
avarice, and despotism have made it subject. The
means that will concur in promoting it will daily
increase. The Portuguese, who first opened Afri-
ca to other nations, have, notwithstanding their
decay, preserved some considerable advantages in
that

that country. They possess large colonies on the ~~BOOK~~
coast most favourable for the slave trade, while the ~~IX.~~
rival nations have only small factories there ; and
some are deprived even of this resource. These
exclusive possessions, which enable them to procure
their negroes one third cheaper than they are to be
had in the ports where there is a competition, will
determine the Brazilians to increase the number of
them, when once the duty is taken off, which is
now ten per cent. upon the heads of these unhappy
Africans; as it is upon all commodities that
come from Europe. The mother country will give
a further encouragement to this trade, since even
the call of humanity cannot prevail upon ambition
to discontinue it, by permitting the colony to make
their own salt, instead of sending for it from Por-
tugal, as it is now compelled to do. This will fa-
cilitate the fitting out of ships, by adding salt beef
and pork to the provisions of the crew, which hi-
therto have been only cassada and dried fish. Then,
instead of thirty or forty ships, from sixty to a
hundred tons burden, which are annually fitted
out, one hundred will be dispatched, and in pro-
cess of time a greater number if it should be
thought necessary.

This improvement might be hastened, by per-
mitting a direct navigation from the Brazils to the
East Indies. This trade is peculiarly useful to
Portugal ; and her policy would require her to ex-
tend it as much as possible. As the Portuguese
neither have nor can have any manufactures of
their

BOOK their own, they ought to give the preference to
IX. those linens and stuffs which are agreeable, and
which are most suitable to their own climate and
that of their colonies, and absolutely necessary for
their African factories. The mother country would
not sacrifice any advantage by associating Brazil to
this branch of industry. It cannot have forgot
that it formed a company in 1723, which did not
succeed. From that time, only one ship has been
fitted out yearly, which for a long while put in
at Bahia on its return from Asia, and for some
years past, calls for refreshments at Angola, by
order of the government to which it belongs. The
direct voyages from Brazil would be much more
frequent. Its contraband trade with Buenos Ayres
would supply it with piastras for traffic, and it
would find on the Amazon part of the materials
for navigation. The banks of that immense river
abound with wood of the most excellent kind. It is
known to be very lasting, neither does the worm,
which is the universal scourge of the navy, ever
affect it, and the scurvy never appears on board
the ships that are made of it. The difficulty arising
from the want of hemp or flax is already re-
moyed. Two plants have been discovered, which
grow in great plenty in the forests about Bahia,
called *Gravata* and *Tieu*, which make very good
thread for coarse linen, sail-cloth and ropes. Un-
fortunately a private man in the neighbourhood
has got a patent for fifteen years for the sole work-
ing of it.

AN infallible way to bring about these great ~~BOOK~~ changes speedily, would be to open the ports of Brazil to all nations. Such a liberty would give the colony that activity which it never can acquire without it. The nations that sail there would be interested in its prosperity and defence. It would be far more serviceable to the mother-country, by the gradual increase of its customs than by a pernicious monopoly. Portugal that has no manufactures, must pursue a different system from the other powers in Europe, who have more goods than they want to supply their American settlements; and the very competition that might be prejudicial to them, will certainly be very advantageous to the Portuguese.

If the court of Lisbon does not adopt this system, which no doubt may be liable to some objections, it must at least repeal the law that forbids all foreigners from residing in the Brazils. Not fifty years ago, there were several English, Dutch, and French houses in Brazil, whose industry encouraged every kind of labour. Far from driving them away by barbarously oppressing them, encouragements ought to have been given to fix them there, and to increase their number. Not that, strictly speaking, there is a scarcity of white people in these extensive regions; for by a calculation that may be depended on, they amount to near 600,000. This is more than are to be found in any other colony; but the Creole Portuguese are so indolent, so corrupt, so passionately

BOOK addicted to pleasure, that they are become incapable of the least care and application to business.

IX. Perhaps, the only way to rouse this degenerate race, would be to set before their eyes some labourious men, to whom suitable parcels of land might be allotted.

THIS might easily be done. On the banks of the most navigable rivers are large plains that are no man's property, and might enrich any one who would take the pains to cultivate them. Even by the sea side it would be an easy matter to settle a great number of cultivators. On the first discovery of that country, government granted whole provinces to several noblemen under the title of captainships; but afterwards withdrew these grants, and gave in exchange, titles, pensions, or other marks of favour. This policy has brought into the crown a large extent of territory, which now lies waste, and might be usefully employed. An infinite number of English, French and Dutch colonists, whose plantations are exhausted, and many Europeans who are seized with a passion of making a fortune, so prevalent in this age, would remove thither with their industry and their whole stock.

THAT nothing might prevent them, they should be secured from the fury of the inquisition. That cruel tribunal has never, indeed, been erected in Brazil; but it has its emissaries there, who are more inhuman, if possible, than itself. It is still remembered, that from the year 1702, to

1718, those infamous men sent over to Europe a ~~BOOK~~ prodigious number of priests, monks, and proprietors of land, and even negroes, whom they accused of Judaism. These oppressions ruined agriculture to such a degree, that the fleets of 1724 and 1725 found no provisions there. In 1728, the government enacted that for the future, if any colonist were taken up by the holy office, his goods and chattles and his slaves should not be forfeited, and that his fortune should descend to his heirs. The mischief that was already done, could not be repaired by this decree, nor can mutual confidence be restored, till the authors of the misfortunes that have ruined the colony are recalled.

EVEN this precaution will not be sufficient, unless the power of the clergy is abridged. Some states have been known to favour the corruption of priests, in order to weaken the ascendant that superstition gives them over the minds of the people. That this method is not always infallible, appears from what has happened in the Brazils, nor is this execrable policy reconcileable with the principles of morality. It would be more secure and more eligible to open the doors of the sanctuary to all the citizens without distinction. Philip II, when he became master of Portugal, enacted that they should be shut against all such whose blood was tainted with any mixture with Jews, heretics, negroes or Indians. This distinction has given a dangerous superiority to a set of men who

BOOK were already too powerful. It has been abolished
IX. in the African settlements ; why should not those
of America enjoy the same privilege ? Why, after
taking from the clergy the authority they derived
from their birth, should they not be abridged of
the power they assume on account of their riches ?

SOME politicians have asserted, that no government ought ever to appoint a fixed income for the clergy, but that their spiritual services should be paid by those who have recourse to them. That this method would excite their zeal and vigilance. That they would grow daily more expert in the care of souls by experience, study, and application. These statesmen have been opposed by philosophers, who maintained that an oeconomy which would tend to increase the activity of the clergy, would be fatal to public tranquillity ; and that it was better to lull that ambitious body into idleness, than to give it new strength. It is observed that churches and religious houses which have no settled income, are so many repositories of superstition, maintained at the expence of the lower class of people, where saints, miracles, relicks, and all the inventions with which imposture has loaded religion, are made. So that it would be a benefit to so society, if the clergy had a stated provision ; but so moderate as to restrain the ambition of the body and the number of its members. Poverty makes them fanatical ; opulence independent ; and both concur to render them seditious.

SUCH at least was the opinion of a philosopher, ~~BOOK~~ who said to a great monarch ; There is a powerful body in your dominions, which hath assumed a power of suspending the labour of your subjects, whenever it pleases to call them into its temples. This body is authorised to speak to them a hundred times a year, and to speak in the name of God. It tells them that the most powerful sovereign is no more in the sight of the supreme being than the meanest slave ; and that as it is inspired by the creator of all things, it is to be believed in preference to the masters of the world. The effects of such a system threaten the total subversion of society, unless the ministers of religion are made dependent on the magistrate ; and they will never be effectually so, unless they hold their subsistence from him. This is the only way to establish a harmony between the oracles of heaven and the maxims of government. It is the business of a prudent administration to bring this about without disturbances or commotions.

TILL the court of Lisbon has attained this salutary end, all projects of reformation will be ineffectual. The defects of ecclesiastical government will still subsist, notwithstanding all endeavours to reform them. The clergy must be brought to depend upon the magistrate, before the Portuguese who live in Brazil can dare to oppose their tyranny. Perhaps even the prejudices these inhabitants have imbibed from a faulty and monastic education, may be too deeply rooted in

BOOK their minds, to be ever eradicated. These en-
ix. lightened views seem to be reserved for the next
' generation. This revolution might be hastened
by obliging the chief proprietors to send their
children to Europe for education, and by reform-
ing the plan of public education in Portugal.

ALL ideas are easily impressed upon tender or-
gans. The soul, without experience as without
reflection, readily admits truth and falsehood in mat-
ters of opinion, and equally adopts what is either
conducive or prejudicial to the public welfare.
Young people may be taught to value or depre-
ciate their own reason; to make use of it, or to
neglect it; to consider it as their best guide, or to
mistrust its powers. Fathers obstinately defend
the absurdities they were taught in their infancy;
their children will be as fond of the leading prin-
ciples in which they have been trained. They
will bring back into Brazil notions of religion, mo-
rality, administration, commerce, and agriculture.
The mother country will confer places of trust on
them alone. They will then exert the talents they
have acquired, and the face of the colony will be
totally changed. Writers who speak of it, will no
longer lament the idleness, the ignorance, the
blunders, the superstitions which have been the
ground-work of its administration. The history
of this colony will no longer be a satyre upon it.

THE fear of incensing Great Britain must not
protract these happy alterations one single moment.
The motives which, perhaps, have prevented them
hitherto

hitherto are but prejudices, which will be removed **B O O K**
upon the slightest examination. There are numberless political errors, which, once adopted, become principles. Such is the prevailing notion at the court of Lisbon, that the state cannot exist or prosper ~~but~~ by means of the English. It is forgotten that the Portuguese monarchy was formed without the help of other nations; that during the whole time of their contests with the Moors, they were supported by no foreign power; that their greatness had been increasing for three centuries successively, when they extended their dominion over Africa and the East and West Indies by their own strength. All these great revolutions were performed by the Portuguese alone. Was it necessary then that this nation should discover a great treasure, and be a proprietor of rich mines, merely to suggest the idea of its being unable to support itself? Are the Portuguese to be compared to those foolish individuals, whose heads are turned by the embarrassment, which their newly acquired riches occasion?

No nation ought to submit to be protected. If the people are wise, they will have forces relative to their situation; and will never have more enemies than they are able to withstand. Unless their ambition is unbounded, they have allies, who, for their own sakes, will warmly and faithfully support their interest. This general truth is peculiarly applicable to those states that are possessed of mines. It is the interest of all other nations to be

BOOK in amity with them; and if there is occasion for it,
IX. they will all unite for their preservation. Let Portugal but hold the balance even between all the powers of Europe, and they will form an impenetrable barrier around her. England herself, though deprived of the preference she has too long enjoyed, will still support a nation whose independence is essential to the balance of power in Europe. All nations would quickly join in one common cause, if Spain should ever be so mad for conquest, as to attempt any thing against Portugal. Never would the jealous, restless, and quick-sighted policy of our age suffer all the treasures of the new world to be in the same hands, or that one house should be so powerful in America, as to threaten the liberties of Europe.

THIS security, however, should not induce the court of Lisbon to neglect the means of their own preservation, as they did when they trusted to the British arms for their defence, or indolently rested on the supineness of their neighbours: when, destitute of land or sea forces, they were accounted as nothing in the political system, which is the greatest disgrace that can befall a nation. If the Portuguese will regain the consequence they have lost, they must put themselves in such a state, as not to be afraid of war, and even to declare it themselves, if their rights or their safety should require it. It is not always an advantage to a nation to continue in peace, when all the rest are in arms. In the political as in the natural world, a

great

great event will have very extensive effects. The book
rise or fall of one empire will affect all the rest. ix.

Even those which are furthest removed from the
seat of war, are oftentimes the victims of their
moderation or weakness. These maxims are di-
rectly applicable to Portugal, particularly at this
 juncture, when the example of her neighbours,
the critical situation of her haughty allies, the so-
licitations of the powers who are jealous of her
friendship; in short, every thing calls upon her to
rouze, and to exert herself.

If the Portuguese will not at length frequent the
seas, where alone they can distinguish themselves,
and from whence they must derive their prospe-
rity, if they do not appear with a powerful force
at the extremity of Europe, where nature has so
happily placed them, their fate is decided, the
monarchy is at an end. They will fall again into
the chains they had shaken off for a moment: as
a lion that should drop asleep at the door of his
den after he had broken it open. The little cir-
culation there is still within, would but indicate
those feeble signs of life, which are the symptoms
of approaching death. The few trifling regu-
lations they might make from time to time, re-
specting the finances, the police, commerce, and
the navy, whether at home or for the colonies,
would be but weak palliatives, which, by concealing
their situation, would make it only the more
dangerous,

BOOK IX. It cannot be denied that Portugal has suffered the most favourable opportunity that could have offered, of resuming her former splendour to escape. They are not policies alone that prepare revolutions. Some destructive phenomena may change the face of an empire. The earthquake of the first of November 1755, which overthrew the capital of Portugal, ought to have restored the kingdom. The destruction of a proud city is often the preservation of a whole state, as the opulence of one man may be the ruin of thousands. Stately edifices be subverted; effects, mostly belonging to foreigners, might be destroyed; idle, debauched and corrupt men might be buried under heaps of ruins, without affecting the public welfare. The earth, in a transient fit, had only taken what she was able to restore; and the gulphs she opened under one city, were ready digged for the foundations of another.

A new state, a new people might have been expected to rise out of those ruins. But as much as these violent and uncommon starts of nature animate great minds, so much they depress little souls, corrupted by a long habit of ignorance and superstition. Government, which every where takes advantage of the credulity of the people, and which nothing can divert from the settled purpose of extending the boundaries of authority, became more encroaching at the very instant that the nation grew more timorous. Men of bold spirits oppressed those that were weak; and the period

period of that great phenomenon proved that of an **B O O K**
increase of slavery; a sad but common effect of **IX.**
the catastrophes of nature. They usually make
men a prey to the artifices of those who are ambi-
tious of ruling over them. Then it is that they
take large strides, by repeated acts of arbitrary
power; whether those who govern, do really be-
lieve that the people were born to obey, or whether
they think that, by extending their own power,
they increase the strength of the public. Those
false politicians are not aware that with such prin-
ciples, a state is like an overstrained spring, that
will break at last, and recoil against the hand that
bends it. The present situation of the continent
of South America, but too plainly evinces the
justness of this comparison: let us now proceed
to shew the effects of a different conduct in the
American islands.

END OF THE NINTH Book.

B O O K

BOOK X.

Settlement of the European nations in the great Archipelago of America, known by the name of the Antilles or Caribbee islands.

BOOK X. **T**HAT part of North America, which extends from the 29^o to the 31^o degree of longitude, contains the most numerous, extensive and rich Archipelago the ocean has yet opened to the curiosity, the industry and avidity of the Europeans. The islands that compose it are known, since the discovery of the new world, by the name of the Caribbees. Those that lie nearest the East, have been called the Windward islands; the others, the Leeward, on account of the winds blowing generally from the eastern point in those quarters. They form a continued chain, one end of which seems to be attached to the continent near the gulph of Maracaybo, the other, to close the entrance of the gulph of Mexico. They may, perhaps, with some degree of probability, be considered

Tidied as the tops of very high mountains for ~~book~~
merly belonging to the continent, which have been ~~x.~~
changed into islands by some revolution that has
laid the flat country under water.

ALL the islands of the world seem to have been detached from the continent by subterraneous fires, or earthquakes.

THE celebrated Atlantica, whose very name would some thousand years ago have been buried in oblivion, had it not been transmitted down to us by Plato, from the obscure tradition of Egyptian priests was, probably, a large tract of land situated between Africa and America. Several circumstances render it probable that England was formerly a part of France ; and Sicily has evidently been detached from Italy. The Cape de Verd islands, the Azores, Madeira, and the Canaries must have been part of the neighbouring continents, or of others that have been destroyed. The late observations of English navigators leave us scarce any room to doubt that all the islands of the South Sea, formerly composed one entire continent. New Zealand, the largest of them, is full of mountains, on which may be perceived the marks of extinguished volcanos. Its inhabitants are neither beardless nor copper-coloured as those of America ; and though they are separated six hundred and eighty leagues from each other, they speak the same language as the natives of the island of Otaheite, discovered by M. De Bougainville.

BOOK INDISPUTABLE monuments evince that such changes have happened, of which the attentive naturalist every where discovers some traces still remaining. Shells of every kind, corals, beds of oysters, sea-fish entire or broken, regularly heaped up in every quarter of the globe, in places the most distant from the sea, in the bowels and on the surfaces of mountains ; the variableness of the continent subject to all the changes of the ocean by which it is constantly beaten, worn away or subverted : while at a distance, perhaps, on one side it loses immense tracts of land ; on the other, discovers to us new countries, and long banks of sand heaped up before those cities that formerly were celebrated sea-ports : the horizontal and parallel position of the strata of the earth and of marine productions collected and heaped up alternately in the same order, composed of the same materials, that are regularly cemented by the constant and successive exertion of the same cause : the correspondent similarity observable between such coasts as are separated by an arm of the sea ; on one side of which may be perceived salient angles opposite to re-entering angles on the other : on the right-hand, beds of the same kind of sand, or similar petrifications disposed on a level with similar strata extending to the left : the direction of mountains and rivers towards the sea as to their common origin : the formation of hills and vallies, on which this immense body of fluid hath, as it were, stamped indelible marks of its undulations : all these several

veral circumstances attest, that the ocean has ~~book~~ broken its natural limits, or perhaps, that its limits have never been insurmountable; and that varying the surface of the globe, according to the irregularity of its own motions, it hath alternately taken the earth from its inhabitants, and restored it to them again. Hence those successive though never universal deluges that have covered the face of the earth, but not rendered it totally invisible to us at once: for the waters acting at the same time in the cavities and on the surface of the globe, cannot possibly increase the depth of their beds without diminishing their breadth; or overflow, on one side, without leaving dry land on the other; nor can we conceive any alteration in the whole system that can possibly have made all the mountains disappear at once and occasioned the sea to rise above their summits. What a sudden transformation must have forced all the rocks and every solid particle of matter to the center of the earth, to draw out of its inmost recesses and channels all those fluids which animate it; and thus blending its several elements together, produce a mass of waters and useless germs floating in the air? Is it not enough that each hemisphere alternately becomes a prey to the devastations of the ocean? Such constant shocks as these have doubtless so long concealed from us the new world, and, perhaps, swallowed up that continent, which, as is imagined, had been only separated from our own.

WHAT-

BOOK WHATEVER may be the secret causes of these particular revolutions, the general cause of which results from the known and universal laws of motion, their effects, however, will be always sensible to every man who has the resolution and sagacity to perceive them. They will be more particularly evident in regard to the Caribbee islands, if it can ever be proved that they undergo violent shocks whenever the volcanos of the Cordilleras throw out their contents, or when all Peru is shaken. This archipelago, as well as that of the East-Indies, situated nearly in the same degree of latitude, seems to be produced by the same cause; namely, the motion of the sea from east to west: a motion impressed by that which causes the earth's revolution from west to east; more rapid at the equator, where the globe of the earth being more elevated, revolves in a larger circle and in a more agitated zone; where the ocean seems, as it were willing to break through all the boundaries nature opposes to it, and opening to itself a free and uninterrupted course, forms the equinoctial line.

THE direction of the Caribbee islands, beginning from Tobago, is nearly north and N. N. W. This direction is continued from one island to another, forming a line somewhat curved towards the north-west, and ending at Antigua. In this place the line becomes at once curved, and extending itself in a straight direction to the W. and N. W. meets in its course with Porto-Rico, St. Domingo, and Cuba, known by the Name of the Leeward Islands,

Islands, which are separated from each other by ~~300~~ ~~x~~ channels of various breadths. Some of these are ~~x.~~ six, others fifteen or twenty leagues broad ; but the soundings in all of them are from a hundred to a hundred and twenty or a hundred and fifty fathom. Between Grenada and St. Vincent's there is also a small Archipelago of thirty leagues, in which sometimes the soundings are not ten fathom.

THE mountains in the Caribbee islands run in the same direction as the islands themselves. This direction is so regular, that if we were to consider the tops of these mountains only independent of their bases, they might be looked upon as a chain of hills belonging to the continent, of which Martinico would be the most north-westerly promontory.

THE springs of water which flow from the mountains in the Windward islands, run all in the western part of these islands. The whole eastern coast, that is to say, which, according to our conjectures, has always been covered by the sea, is without any running water. No springs come down there from the mountains ; they would, indeed, have been useless, for after having run over a very short tract of land, and with great rapidity, they would have fallen into the sea.

IN Porto-Rico, St. Domingo, and Cuba, there are a few rivers, which discharge themselves into the sea on the northern side, and whose sources rise in the mountains running from east to west, that

BOOK is, through the whole length of these islands.

X. These rivers water a considerable extent of low country, which has certainly never been covered by the sea. From the other side of the mountains facing the south, where the sea, flowing with great impetuosity, leaves behind it marks of its inundations, several rivers flow into these three islands, some of which are considerable enough to receive the largest ships.

THESE observations, which seem to prove that the sea has separated the Caribbee islands from the continent, are further confirmed by others of a different kind, though equally conclusive in support of this conjecture. Tobago, Margareta, and Trinidad, islands that are the nearest to the continent, produce as well as the Caribbees, trees whose wood is soft, and wild cocoa. This particular species are not to be found, at least in any quantity, in the northern islands. In these the only wood we meet with is hard. Cuba, situated at the other extremity of the Caribbees, abounds, like Florida, from which, perhaps, it has been separated, with cedars and cypresses, both equally useful for the building of ships.

Nature of the soil of the Caribbees consists mostly of a layer of clay or gravel, of different thickness; under which is a bed of stone or rock. The nature of some of these soils is better adapted to vegetation than others. In those places where the clay is dryer and more friable, and mixes with the leaves and remains of plants, a layer of earth is formed

formed of greater depth, than where the clay is ~~BOOK~~
moister. The sand or gravel has different proper-
ties according to its peculiar nature; wherever it
is less hard, less compact, and less porous, small
pieces separate themselves from it; which though
dry, preserve a certain degree of coolness useful
to vegetation. This soil is called in America, a
pumice-stone soil. Wherever the clay and gravel
do not go through such modifications, the soil be-
comes barren, as soon as the layer formed by the
decomposition of the original plants is destroyed,
from the necessity there is of weeding it, which too
frequently exposes its salts to the heat of the sun.
Hence, in those cultures which require less weed-
ing, and where the plant covers with its leaves the
vegetable salts, there the fertility of the ground
has been preserved.

WHEN the Europeans landed at the Caribbee
islands they found them covered with large trees,
connected as it were to one another by a species of
creeping plant; which, rising up in the same man-
ner as the ivy, wove itself around all the branches,
and concealed them from the sight. There was
so great a plenty of this plant, and it grew so
thick, that it was impossible to penetrate into the
woods before it was cut down. From its great
degree of flexibility it was called Liane.

IN these forests, as old as the world itself, there
were varieties of trees, that from a singular par-
tiality of nature, were very lofty, exceeding
straight, and without any excrescences or defects.

BOOK The annual fall and breaking down of the leaves,
x. and the decay of the trunks rotted away by time,
L formed a moist sediment upon the ground ; which
being cleared, occasioned a surprising degree of
vegetation in those plants that were substituted
to the trees that were rooted up.

In whatever soil these trees grew, their roots
were scarcely two feet deep, and generally much
less : though they extended themselves on the sur-
face, in proportion to the weight they had to sup-
port. The excessive dryness of the ground, where
the most plentiful rains never penetrate very deep,
as they are soon attracted by the sun-beams ; and
the constant dews that moisten the surface, made
the roots of these plants extend themselves hori-
zontally, instead of descending perpendicularly, as
they generally do in other climates.

THE trees that grew on the tops of mountains
and in steep places were very hard. Their bark
was smooth, and firmly fixed to the wood. The
courbari, the acajou, the machineel, the barati,
iron-wood, and several others, hardly yielded to
the sharpest instrument : it was necessary to burn
them, in order to fell and root them up. When
they were on the ground, they were worked by
the saw and the hatchet. The most remarkable
of these trees was the acoma ; which when put
into the earth, becomes petrified. The gum tree
was esteemed the most useful, the trunk being
five feet in circumference, and the stem from
forty-

forty-five to fifty feet, served to make a canoe of **B O O K**
one single piece. X.

THE vallies, which are always rendered fertile by the mountains, abounded with soft wood. At the foot of these trees grew promiscuously those plants that the liberality of the earth produced for the subsistence of the natives of the country. The couch-couch, the yam, the Caribbee cabbage and potatoe were most generally used. These were a species of potatoes produced at the root of such plants as creep along the ground, breaking through all those impediments which seemed to render their growth impossible. Nature, which appears to have established a certain analogy between the characters of people and the provisions intended for their support, had provided the Caribbee islands with such vegetables as could not bear the heat of the sun, flourished best in moist places, required no cultivation, and were renewed two or three times in the year. The islanders did not thwart the free and spontaneous operations of nature, by destroying one of her productions to give the greater vigour to another. The preparation of the vegetating salts was entirely left to the mere effect of nature; nor did the natives pretend to fix the place and time of her fertility. They gathered as chance threw in their way, or the season pointed out, such fruits as spontaneously offered themselves for their support. They had observed, that the putrefaction of the weeds was necessary to the

BOOK reproduction of those plants that were most useful

X. to them.

THE roots of these plants were never unwholesome ; but they were insipid when raw, and had very little flavour even when boiled, unless they were seasoned with pimento. When mixed with ginger, and the acid juice of a plant somewhat resembling our sorrel, they produced a strong liquor, which was the only compound drink of the savages. The only art they made use of in preparing it, was suffering it to ferment some days in common water, exposed to the heat of the sun.

EXCLUSIVE of the roots, the islands also supplied the inhabitants with a great variety of different fruits. Some of these were nearly of the same kind as our apples, cherries, and apricots ; but we have nothing in our climates that can give us any idea of most of the fruits of the Caribbee islands. Among these the most useful was the banana. In shape, size and colour it resembled our cucumbers : its taste was somewhat similar to our pears : it grew in cool places, on a soft and spungy stem about seven feet high. This stem decayed as the fruit ripened ; but before it fell, it shot forth a young sprig from its trunk, which a year after produced its fruit, perished in its turn, and was regenerated successively in the same manner.

ONE singular circumstance worthy of remark is, that while the voracious plant, which we have termed Liane, climbed round all the barren trees, it avoided the fertile ones, though promiscuously blended.

blended with the former. Nature seemed as it ~~book~~ were, to have prescribed to it, to respect what she had destined the sustenance of man.

THE islanders were not so plentifully supplied with pot-herbs as with roots and fruits. Purslain and cresses were the only herbs of this kind they had.

THEIR other food was confined within a very narrow compass: they had no tame fowl, and the only quadrupeds that were fit for food, did not amount to more than five sorts; the largest of which did not exceed in size our common rabbits. The birds more pleasing to the eye, though less varied than in our climates, were valuable almost only on account of their feathers: few of them warbled forth those melting notes that are so captivating to the ear; most of them were extremely thin, and very insipid to the taste. Fish was nearly as plentiful as in other seas, but generally less wholesome, and less delicate.

THE plants that nature had placed in these islands, to cure the very few disorders the inhabitants were subject to, cannot be too highly commended. Whether they were applied externally, or taken internally, or the juice of them given in infusion, their effects were as speedy as salutary. The invaders of those formerly peaceable regions, have employed these simples, which are always green and in full vigour, and preferred them to all the medicines that Asia can furnish to the rest of the world.

BOOK X. The generality of the inhabitants of these islands consider but two seasons among them, that of Climate of these islands. drought and that of rain. Nature, whose operations are constant, and concealed under a perpetual verdure, appears to them to act always uniformly. But those who attentively observe her progress, discern, that in the temperature of the climate, in all the revolutions, and the changes of vegetation, she observes the same laws as in Europe, though in a less sensible manner.

THESE almost imperceptible changes, are no preservative against the dangers and inconveniences of such a scorching climate as must be naturally expected under the torrid zone. As these islands are all under the tropics, their inhabitants are exposed, allowing for the varieties resulting from difference of situation and of soil, to a perpetual heat, which generally increases from the rising of the sun till an hour after noon, and then decreases in proportion as the sun declines. The thermometer in these places shews, that the degree of heat rises sometimes to forty-four, and even to forty-seven and a half above the freezing point. A covered sky, that might serve to alleviate this heat, is seldom seen. Sometimes, indeed, clouds appear for an hour or two, but the sun is never hid for four days during the whole year.

THE variations in the temperature of the air, depend rather upon the wind, than the changes of the seasons. In those places where the wind does not blow, the air is excessively hot, and none but

but the easterly winds contribute to temperate and ~~B O O K~~
refresh it, those that blow from the south and west x.
afford little relief; but they are much less frequent,
and less regular than that which comes from the
east. The branches of the trees exposed to its in-
fluence, are forced round towards the west, in that
direction which they seem to be thrown into, by
the constant and uniform course of the wind. But
their roots are stronger and more extended under
ground towards the east, in order to afford them,
as it were, a fixed point, whose resistance may
counteract the power of the ruling wind. It has
been also observed, that whenever the westerly
wind blows pretty strong, the trees are easily
thrown down; in order therefore to judge of the
violence of a hurricane, the number of trees, as
well as the direction in which they fall, is equally
to be considered.

THE easterly wind depends upon two invariable causes, the probability of which is very striking. The first arises from the diurnal motion of the earth from west to east, and which must necessarily be more rapid under the equinoctial than under the parallels of latitude, because a greater space must be passed over in the same time. The second is owing to the heat of the sun, which as soon as it rises above the horizon, rarifies the air, and causes it to blow towards the west, in proportion as the earth revolves towards the east.

THE easterly wind, therefore, which at the Caribbee islands is scarcely felt before nine or ten o'clock

8 o o k o'clock in the morning, increases in proportion as
x. the sun rises above the horizon ; and decreases as
it declines. Towards the evening it ceases entirely
to blow on the coasts, but not on the open sea.
The reasons of this difference are very evident.
After the setting of the sun, the air from the land,
that continues for a considerable time rarified, on
account of the vapours which are constantly rising
from the heated globe, necessarily flows back upon
the air of the sea : this is what is generally
called a land breeze. It is most sensibly felt in the
night, and continues till the air of the sea, rare-
fied by the heat of the sun, flows back again to-
wards the land, where the air has been condensed
by the coolness of the night. It has also been ob-
served, that the easterly wind blows more regu-
larly and with greater force in the dog-days than
at any other times of the year ; because the sun
then acts more powerfully on the air. Thus na-
ture causes the excessive heat of the sun to contri-
bute to the refreshment of those climates that are
parched up by its rays. It is thus that in fire-eng-
ines art makes the fire instrumental in supplying
constantly with fresh water the copper vessels from
which it is exhausted by evaporation.

THE rain contributes also to the temperature
of the American islands, though not equally in
them all. In those places where the easterly wind
meets with nothing to oppose its progress, it dis-
pels the clouds as they begin to rise, and causes
them to break either in the woods or upon the
moun-

mountains. But whenever the storms are too violent, or the blowing of the easterly wind is interrupted by the changeable and temporary effect of the southern and westerly ones, it then begins to rain. In the other Caribbee islands, where this wind does not generally blow, the rains are frequent and plentiful, especially in the winter season, which lasts from the middle of July to the middle of October ; that, according to the most accurate observations, as much water falls in one week, during this time, as in our climates in the space of a year. Instead of those mild and refreshing showers which we sometimes enjoy in Europe, the rains in these climates are torrents, the sound of which might be mistaken for that of hail, if this were not almost unknown under so burning a sky.

THESE showers, it must be allowed, refresh the air; but they occasion a dampness, the effects of which are no less disagreeable than fatal. The dead must be interred within a few hours after they have expired. Meat will not keep sweet above four and twenty hours. The fruits decay, whether they are gathered ripe, or before their maturity. The bread must be made up into biscuits, to prevent its growing mouldy. Common wines soon turn sour : and iron grows rusty in a day's time. The seeds can only be preserved by constant attention and care, till the proper season returns for sowing them. When the Caribbee islands were first discovered, the corn that was conveyed there for the sup-

BOOK support of those who could not accustom themselves to the food of the natives of the country, was so soon damaged, that it became necessary to send it in the ears. This necessary precaution enhanced the price of it so much that few people were able to buy it. Flour was then substituted in lieu of corn, which lowered, indeed, the expences of transport, but was attended with this inconvenience, that it was sooner damaged. It was imagined by a merchant, that if the flour were entirely separated from the bran, which contributes to its fermentation, it would have this double advantage, of cheapness and of keeping longer. He caused it therefore to be sifted, and put the finest flour into strong casks, and beat it close together with iron hammers, till it became so hard a body, that the air could scarcely penetrate it. Experience justified so sensible a contrivance, the practice of it has become general, and been considerably improved ever since. If this method does not preserve the flour, as long as in our dry and temperate climates, it may, however, be kept by it, for the space of six months, a year, or even longer, according to the degree of care that has been taken in the preparation. Such an interval is sufficient for the activity and industry of the mother country to supply its colonies.

Ordinary phenomena in the islands.

HOWEVER troublesome these natural effects of the rain may be, it is attended with some still more formidable: such as frequent and sometimes dreadful earthquakes in the islands. As they

ge-

generally happen during the time, or towards the ~~BOOK~~
end of the rainy season, and when the tides are ~~X.~~
highest, some ingenious naturalists have, there-
fore, supposed that they might be owing to these
two causes.

THE waters of the sky and of the sea, under-
mine, dig up, and ravage the earth in several
ways. The ocean, in particular, exerts its fury
upon this globe with a violence that can neither be
foreseen nor prevented. Among the various shocks
to which it is constantly exposed, from this restless
and boisterous element, there is one, which at the
Caribbee islands is distinguished by the name of
raz de marée, or whirlpool. It constantly happens
once, twice, or three times, from July to October,
and always on the western coasts ; because it takes
place after the time of the westerly and southerly
winds, or while they blow. The waves which at
a distance seem to advance gently within four or
five hundred yards, suddenly swell against the
shore, as if acted upon in an oblique direction by
some superior force, and break with the greatest
impetuosity. The ships, which are then upon the
coast, or in the roads beyond it, unable either to
put to sea, or keep their anchors, are dashed to
pieces against the land, leaving the unhappy sailors
entirely without hopes of escaping that certain
death, the approaches of which they have been
expecting for several hours.

So extraordinary a motion of the sea has
been hitherto considered as the consequence of a
flora.

book storm. But a storm follows the direction of the wind from one point of the compass to another ; and whirlpools are felt in one part of an island that is sheltered by another island, where the shock is not at all perceived. This observation has induced Mr. Dutasta, who has travelled through Africa, and America, as a natural philosopher, a merchant, and a statesman, to seek for a more probable cause of this singular phenomenon. He has not only discovered this, but also several other truths that may be useful to many of the sciences, if he ever makes them public. We shall then probably acquire more certain information concerning hurricanes.

THE hurricane is a violent wind generally accompanied with rain, lightening and thunder, sometimes with earthquakes ; and always attended with the most melancholy and fatal consequences that the wind can produce. The day, which, in the torrid zone, is usually bright and clear, is suddenly changed into a dark and universal night ; the appearance of a perpetual spring into the dreariness and horror of the most gloomy winter. Trees as ancient as the world itself are torn up by the roots, and instantly disappear. The strongest and the most solid buildings are in a moment buried in ruins. Where the eye delighted itself with the prospect of rich and verdant hills, nothing is to be seen but plantations entirely destroyed, and frightful caverns. The unhappy sufferers, deprived of their whole support, weep over the carcasses

cases of the dead, or search among the ruins for ~~books~~
their friends and relations. The noise of the wa- x.
ters, of the woods, of the thunder and of the
winds, that break against the shattered rocks; the
cries and howlings of men and animals, promis-
cuously involved in a whirlwind of sand, stones,
and ruins of buildings: all together seem to por-
tend the last struggles of expiring nature.

THESE hurricanes, however, contribute to pro-
duce more plentiful crops, and to ripen the fruits
of the earth. Whether these violent concussions
tear up the ground, in order to render it more fer-
tile, or whether the hurricane brings along with it
certain substances fit to promote the vegetation of
plants, is not easily determined: but it has been
observed, that this seeming and temporary confu-
sion was not only a consequence of the uniformity
of nature, which makes even dissolution itself in-
strumental to regeneration, but also the means of
preserving the general system, the life and vigour
of which is maintained by an internal fermenta-
tion, the source of partial evil and of general
good.

THE first inhabitants of the Caribbee islands
imagined that they had discovered infallible pro-
gnostics of this alarming phenomenon. They ob-
served, that when it was near at hand, the air was
misty, the sun red, and yet the weather calm, and
the tops of the mountains clear. Under the earth
and in the reservoirs of water, a dull sound was
heard, like that arising from pent up winds. The
flars

~~BOOK~~ stars were clouded by a vapour, that made them appear larger. The sky, in the north-west, was overspread with dark and black clouds, that seemed very alarming. The sea sent forth a strong and disagreeable smell, and in the midst of a calm, was suddenly agitated. The wind changed in a moment from east to west, and blew very violently at different intervals, each of which continued for two hours together.

THOUGH the truth of all these observations cannot be ascertained, yet to pay no attention to the ideas and even prejudices of savage nations on times and seasons would be a seeming indication of imprudence, or of a mind too little addicted to philosophical inquiries. The want of employment of these people, and their being habituated to live in open air, afford them an opportunity and put them under a necessity of observing the smallest alterations in the air, and of acquiring such informations on this point, as have escaped the more enlightened nations, which are more employed and more devoted to works of a sedentary nature. Possibly we must be indebted to savages for the discovery of effects, and to learned people for the investigation of causes. Let us trace, if possible, the cause of hurricanes, a phenomenon so frequent in America, that this alone would have been sufficient to make it be deserted, or render it uninhabitable many years ago.

No hurricanes come from the east, that is, from the greatest extent of the sea at the Caribbean islands.

islands. As this is an acknowledged fact, it would induce us to believe, that they are formed on the continent of America. The West wind which blows constantly, and sometimes very violently in the southern parts, from July to January, and the north wind blowing at the same time in the northern parts, must, when they meet, oppose each other with a force proportionate to their natural velocity. If this shock happens in the long and narrow passes of the mountains, it must occasion a strong current of air, that will extend itself in a compound ratio of the moving power, and the diameter of the narrow pass of the mountain. Every solid body that meets this current of air, will be impressed with a degree of force proportioned to the extent of surface it opposes to the current; so that if the position of that surface should be perpendicular to the direction of the hurricane, it is impossible to determine what effect might be produced upon the whole mass. Fortunately the different bearings of the coast of these islands, and their angular or spherical figure, occasion these dreadful hurricanes to fall upon surfaces more or less oblique, which divert the current of air, break its force, and gradually destroy its effects. Experience also proves, that their action is by degrees so much weakened, that even in the direction, where the hurricane falls with most force, it is scarcely felt at ten leagues distance. The most accurate observers have remarked, that all the hurricanes which have suc-

BOOKcessively subverted the islands, came from the north-west, and consequently from the narrow passes formed by the mountains of St. Martha. The distance of some islands from this direction, is not a sufficient reason for rejecting this opinion; as several other causes may contribute to divert a current of air to the south or east. We cannot help thinking, therefore, that those persons have been mistaken, who have asserted, that the violence of a hurricane was felt under whatever point of the compass the wind came from. Such are the destructive phenomena nature has opposed to the acquisition of the riches of the new world: but what barrier could restrain the daring spirit of that navigator who discovered it?

Customs of the Caribs, the ancient inhabitants of the windward islands.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS having first formed a settlement at St. Domingo, one of the greater Antilles, discovered the less. The islanders he had to encounter there, were not so weak and cowardly as those he had at first subdued. The Caribs, who thought they originally came from Guiana, and that they were of the same nation as the Galibees, were of moderate stature, thick set and strong, and such as seemed adapted to form men of superior strength, if their manner of life and exercises had assisted these natural appearances. Their legs thick and muscular, were generally well made; their eyes black, large, and somewhat prominent. Their whole figure would have been pleasing, had they not spoiled their natural beauty by fancied and artificial ornaments, which could only be agreeable among

among themselves. The eye-brows and the head ~~BOOK~~ are the only parts of the body on which they suffered any hair to grow. They wore no garment, nor had this any influence on their chastity. In order to guard against the bite of insects, they painted all their bodies over with the juice of the tocou, or arnotto, which gave them the appearance of a lobster when boiled.

THEIR religion consisted only in some confused belief of a good and bad principle; an opinion so natural to man, that we find it diffused among the most savage nations, and preserved even among many civilized ones. They were little concerned about the tutelary divinity, but had the greatest dread of the evil principle. Their other superstitions were more absurd than dangerous, and they were but little attached to them. This indifference did not continue to render them more ready to embrace Christianity when proposed to them. Without entering into dispute with those who expounded the doctrines, they contented themselves with rejecting the belief of them, *for fear*, as they said, *that their neighbours should laugh at them*.

THOUGH the Caribs had no regular form of government among them, yet they lived quietly and peaceably with one another. The tranquillity they enjoyed, was entirely owing to that innate principle of compassion which precedes all reflection, and is the source of all social virtues. This humane spirit of benevolence arises from the very frame and nature of man, whose self-love alone is

BOOK sufficient to make him abhor the sufferings of his fellow-creatures. To infuse, therefore, a spirit of humanity into the minds of tyrants, it would only be necessary to make them the executioners of those victims they sacrifice to their pride, and of those cruelties they order to be practised upon others. The hands of those voluptuaries should be obliged to mutilate the eunuchs of their seraglios ; they should be forced to attend the field of battle ; they should there behold the bleeding wounds, hear the imprecations, and be witnesses of the agonies and convulsions of their dying soldiers ; they should next attend the hospitals, and at leisure contemplate the wounds, the fractures, the diseases occasioned by famine, by labours equally dangerous and unwholesome, by cruel services and taxes, and the other calamities which arise from the vices and profligacy of their manners. How greatly would scenes like these, occasionally introduced in the education of princes, contribute to lessen the crimes and sufferings of the human race ! What benefits would not the people derive, from the compassionate emotions of their sovereigns ?

AMONG the Caribs, whose hearts were not depraved by the pernicious institutions that corrupt us, neither adultery, treason, nor massacres, so common among civilized nations, were known. Religion, the laws, and penal punishments, whose barriers raised to protect old customs from the encroachments of new ones, were useless to men who followed nature alone. Theft was never heard among these

these savages, before the Europeans came among them. When they discovered any thing missing, they observed, *that the christians had been with them.*

THESE islanders were little acquainted with the strongest passions of the soul, not even with that of love. This passion was with them merely a sensual appetite. They never shewed the least marks of attention or tenderness for that sex, so much courted in other countries. They considered their wives rather in the light of slaves than of companions; they did not even suffer them to eat with them, and had usurped the right of divorcing them, without permitting them the indulgence of marrying again. The women felt themselves born to obey, and submitted patiently to their fate.

IN other respects, a taste for power had little influence on the minds of the Caribs; as they had no distinction of ranks among them, they were all on a footing of equality, and were extremely surprised to find degrees of subordination among the Europeans. This system was so repugnant to their ideas, that they considered those as slaves, who had the weakness to receive the commands of a superior, and obey them. The subjection of the women among them, was a natural consequence of the weakness of the sex. But in what manner, and for what reason, the stronger men submitted themselves to the weaker; and how one man commanded the whole body, was a problem, that nei-

BOOK ther war, treachery, nor superstition, had been able
x. to resolve.

THE manners of a people, neither influenced by interest, vanity, or ambition, must be very simple. Every family formed within itself a republic, distinct in some degree from the rest of the nation. They composed a hamlet, called *carbet*, of greater or less consequence in proportion to the space of ground it occupied. The chief, or patriarch of the family, lived in the center, with his wives and younger children. Around him were placed the huts of such of his descendants as were married. The columns that supported these huts, were stakes; the roofs thatched; and the whole furniture consisted of some arms, cotton beds made very plain and simple, some baskets, and utensils made of calabashes.

In these huts the Caribs spent the greatest part of their life, either in sleeping or smoking. When they went out, they retired into some corner, and sat upon the ground, seemingly absorbed in the most profound contemplation. Whenever they spoke, which was not very often, they were heard without interruption, or contradiction, and without any answer, but the sign of a tacit approbation.

As they ate little, they were not much troubled in providing for their sustenance. Men who live in woods, consume less than those who dwell in open countries. The air is more condensed, and it is probable that the exhalations of vegetables produce

produce some nutritive particles. The temperance, **B O O K**
therefore, of the Caribs, which at first was consi-
dered as a consequence of their indolence, might
possibly be ascribed, in some degree, to that air
impregnated with the juices of vegetables which
they breathe among the woods, with which their
islands were covered.

IN the midst of these woods, this indolent people, without being compelled to the labours of cultivation, found constantly a wholesome food, fitted to their constitution ; and which required no care, or at least very little, to prepare it. If they sometimes added to these gifts of liberal and uncultivated nature, what they had taken in hunting and fishing, it was seldom but upon occasion of some public feast.

THESE extraordinary festivals were held at no stated times. The guests themselves shewed no alteration in their usual characters. In these meetings they were not more gay or spright'y, than at other times. A spirit of indolence and listlessness appeared in their countenances. Their dances were so grave and solemn, that the motions of their bodies were expressive of the dullness of their minds. But these gloomy festivals, like those clouded skies that are the fore-runners of a tempest, were seldom concluded without bloodshed. These savages, who were so temperate when alone, grew drunk when assembled in companies, and their intoxication excited and revived those family dissensions that were either only stifled, or not

BOOK entirely extinguished : and thus these festivals ter-

X. minated in massacres. Hatred and revenge, the 'only passions that could deeply agitate the minds of these savages were thus perpetuated by convivial pleasures. In the height of these entertainments, parents and relations embraced one another, and swore that they would wage war upon the continent.

THE Caribs used to embark upon boats, made of a single tree, that had been felled by burning its roots. Whole years had been employed in hollowing these canoes, by hatchets made of stone, or by means of fire skillfully applied within the trunk of the tree, in order to bring it to the most proper form. These free and voluntary warriors being arrived on the coasts of Guiana, went in quest of the Araucos, who formerly drove them out from thence. At their return from this military expedition, which was the more speedily brought to a conclusion, as mutual enmity rendered it more cruel and spirited, the savages fell again into their former state of indolence and inactivity.

THE Spaniards, notwithstanding the advantage of fire arms, did not continue long at war with this people, nor were they always successful. At first they fought only for gold, and afterwards for slaves ; but not meeting with any mines, and the Caribs being so proud and sullen, that they died when made slaves : the Spaniards gave up all thoughts of making conquests, that they thought of

of little consequence, and that they could neither ^{BOOK} acquire nor preserve without constant and bloody ^{X.} wars.

THE English and French being apprized of these transactions, ventured to equip a small fleet, in order to intercept the Spanish vessels which frequented these latitudes. The advantages gained, increased the number of pirates. Peace, which frequently took place in Europe, did not prevent these expeditions. The custom that prevailed among the Spaniards, of stopping all ships that sailed beyond the tropic, justified such piracies.

THE two nations had long been acquainted with the Windward islands, without ever thinking of making any settlement there, or having been able to fix upon the mode of doing it. They were, perhaps, apprehensive of irritating the Caribs, by whom they had been favourably received: or, perhaps, they considered, that a soil which afforded none of those productions that were of use in the old world, was unworthy of their attention. At length, however, some English and French, the former headed by Warner, and the latter by Desnambuc, landed at St. Christopher's on the same day, at two opposite parts of the island. The frequent losses they sustained, served to convince them both, that they certainly would never triumph over, and enrich themselves with the spoils of the common enemy, unless they had some fixed residence, ports, and a place of general rendezvous. As they had no notion of commerce, agriculture, or conquest, they

~~and so~~ they amicably divided the coasts of the island, where they accidentally met together. The natives of the country retired from the spot they were fixed upon, telling them at the same time, that *land must either be very bad or very scarce with them, since they were come from so great a distance, and had exposed themselves to so many dangers to seek for it among them.*

THE court of Madrid were not so peaceably inclined. Frederic of Toledo, who was sent to Brazil in the year 1630, with a powerful fleet, to attack the Dutch, was ordered in his passage to destroy the pirates, who, according to the prejudices of that nation, had invaded one of their territories. The vicinity of two active and industrious nations, occasioned the greatest anxiety to the Spaniards. They were sensible that their colonies would be exposed to attacks, if any other people should come to settle in that part of America.

THE French and English in vain united their weak powers against the common enemy : they were beaten, and those who were not either killed in the action, or not taken prisoners, fled for shelter with the utmost precipitation into the neighbouring islands. When the danger was over, they most of them returned to their former settlements. Spain, whose attention was engrossed by objects she considered as of greater importance, disturbed them no more ; taking it for granted, perhaps, that their mutual jealousies would occasion their destruction.

UNFORTUNATELY for the Caribs, the two nations, thus conquered, suspended their rivalship. The Caribs, already suspected of forming a conspiracy in St. Christopher's, were either banished or destroyed. Their wives, their provisions, and even the lands they occupied, were seized upon. A spirit of restlessness, the consequence of usurpation, inclined the Europeans to believe, that the other savage nations had entered into the conspiracy ; and they were therefore attacked in their islands. In vain did those plain and inoffensive men, who had no inclination to contend for the possession of a land which they considered not as their property, remove the boundaries of their habitations in proportion as the Europeans advanced with their encroachments ; they were still pursued with the same eagerness and obstinacy. As soon as they perceived that their lives or liberties were in danger, they at length took up arms ; and the spirit of revenge, which always goes beyond the injury, must have sometimes contributed to render them cruel though not unjust.

In earlier times, the English and the French considered the Caribs as their common enemy ; but this kind of casual association was frequently interrupted. It implied not a lasting engagement, much less the becoming guarantee for their mutual possession. The savages artfully contrived to be at peace, sometimes with one nation, and sometimes with the other ; and thus they gained the advantage of having only one enemy at a time.

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This management would have been but of little service to these islanders, had not Europe, scarce paying any attention to a few adventurers, whose excursions had as yet been of no use to her, and not sufficiently enlightened to penetrate into futurity, neglected both the care of governing them, as well as that of putting them in a condition to extend or recover the advantages they had already acquired. The indifference shewn by the two mother countries, determined their subjects of the new world, in the month of January 1660, to enter into an alliance, securing to each people those possessions the various events of war had procured them, and which till then had been totally unsettled. This alliance was accompanied with an offensive and defensive league, to compel the natives of the country to join in this plan, to which their fears induced them to accede the very same year.

By this treaty, which established tranquillity in this part of America, France obtained Guadalupe, Martinico, Granada, and some less considerable acquisitions. England was confirmed in the possession of Barbadoes, Nevis, Antigua, Montserrat, and several other islands of little value : St. Christopher's belonged to both nations. The Caribs were confined to Dominica and St. Vincent's, where all the scattered body of this people united, and did not at that time exceed in number 6000 men.

At this period the English settlements had acquired, under a government, which, though not free from defects, was yet tolerable, some kind of form, and were in a flourishing state. On the contrary, the French colonies were abandoned by a great number of their inhabitants, reduced to despair, from the necessity they were under of submitting to the tyranny of exclusive privileges. These men, passionately attached to liberty, fled to the northern coast of St. Domingo, a place of refuge for several adventurers of their own country, since they had been driven out of St. Christopher's, about thirty years before.

THEY were called Buccaneers, because they imitated the custom of the savages, in drying the food they lived upon by smoke, in places called Buccans. As they had no wives, nor children, they usually associated two in a company, to assist one another in family duties. In these societies property was common, and the last survivor inherited all that remained. Theft was unknown among them, though no precautions were taken against it; and what was wanting at home was freely borrowed from some of the neighbours, without any other restriction than that of a previous intimation, if they were at home, if not, of making them acquainted with it at their return. Differences seldom arose, and when they did, were easily adjusted. If the parties, however, were obstinate, they decided the matter by fire-arms. If the ball entered at the back or the sides, it was

was considered as a mark of treachery, and the assassin was immediately put to death. The former laws of their country were disregarded, and by the usual sea baptism they had received in passing the tropic, they considered themselves exempted from all obligation to obey them. They had even quitted their family name to assume others, borrowed from terms of war, most of which have been transmitted to their posterity.

The dress of these barbarians consisted of a shirt dipped in the blood of the animals they killed in hunting; a pair of drawers dirtier than the shirt, and made in the shape of a brewer's apron, a girdle made of leather, on which a very short sabre was hung, and some knives; a hat, without any rim, except a flap before, in order to take hold of it; and shoes without stockings. Their ambition was satisfied, if they could but provide themselves with a gun that carried balls of an ounce weight, and with a pack of about five and twenty or thirty dogs.

THE whole employment of the Buccaneers consisted in hunting the wild bulls, of which there were great numbers in the island, since the Spaniards had brought them. As soon as they were killed they were immediately flayed, and the pursuit was never ended, till as many bulls were destroyed as there were huntsmen in company. Some pieces of the flesh were then prepared and seasoned only with pimento and juice of orange. They ate no bread, and drank only water. Their daily

daily employment was constantly the same; and ~~so on~~ was continued till they had provided themselves with a sufficient number of skins to supply the vessels of the several nations that traded in those seas. These were then sent to sale in some frequented road; and carried thither by men who were called *engagés*, or bondsmen; a set of persons who were used to sell themselves in Europe to serve as slaves in the colonies, during the term of three years. One of these miserable men, presuming to represent to his master, who always fixed upon a Sunday for this voyage, that God had forbidden such a practice, when he had declared, *six days shalt thou labour, and on the seventh day shalt thou rest*: And I, replied the brutal Buccaneer, say to thee: *six days thou shalt kill bulls and strip them of their skins, and on the seventh day thou shalt carry their hides to the sea shore.* This command was followed by blows, which sometimes enforce obedience, sometimes disobedience to the laws of God.

Men of such a cast, habituated to constant exercises, and feeding every day on fresh meat, were little exposed to diseases. Their excursions were only suspended by a slight fever, which lasted one day, and was not felt the next. They must, however, have been weakened by length of time, under a climate of too intense a heat, to enable them to support so hard and laborious a manner of life.

THE climate, indeed, was the only enemy the Buccaneers had reason to fear. The Spanish colo-

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B. O. O K N Y, at first so considerable, was reduced to no thing. Neglected and forgotten by the mother country, it had even lost the remembrance of its former greatness. The few inhabitants that survived, lived in a state of indolence: their slaves had no other employment but to swing them in their hammocks. Confined to those wants only that are satisfied by nature, frugality prolonged their lives to an old age, rarely to be met with in more temperate climates.

IT is probable they would not have been rouzed from their indolence, had not the enterprising and active spirit of their enemies pursued them in proportion as they retreated. Exasperated at length, from having their tranquillity and ease continually disturbed, they invited from the continent and from the neighbouring islands some troops who fell upon the dispersed Buccaneers. They unexpectedly attacked these barbarians in small parties in their excursions, or in the night-time, when retired into their huts, and many of them were massacred. These adventurers would most probably have been all destroyed, had they not formed themselves into a body for their mutual defence. They were under an absolute necessity of separating in the day time, but met together in the evening. If any one of them was missing, it was supposed that he was either taken prisoner or killed, and the chace was delayed, till he was either found, or his death revenged. We may easily conceive how much blood must have been

shed by such ruffians, belonging to no country, and ~~so~~ ~~so~~ ~~so~~ subject to no laws; hunters and warriors from the calls of nature and instinct; and excited to murder and massacres from being habituated to attack, and from the necessity of defending themselves. In the height of their fury, they devoted every thing to destruction, without any distinction of sex or age. The Spaniards, at length despairing of being able to get the better of such savage and obstinate enemies, took the resolution of destroying all the bulls of the islands, by a general chace. The execution of this design having deprived the Buccaneers of their usual resources, put them under the necessity of making settlements and cultivating the lands.

FRANCE, who till that time, had disclaimed for her subjects these ruffians, whose successes were only temporary, acknowledged them, however, as soon as they formed themselves into settlements. In 1665, she sent them over a man of probity and understanding to govern them. Several women attended him, who, like most of those, who have at different periods been sent into the new world, were noted for their vices and licentiousness. The Buccaneers were not offended at the profligacy of their manners. *I do not desire you to give me an account of your past conduct,* was the speech each of them made to the woman that chance had allotted him. *You did not then belong to me. Give me your word, for the future, as you are now mine; I acquit you of what is past.* Then striking his hand on the

B O O K the barrel of this gun, he added ; *This will revenge me of your breach of faith ; if you are false, this will certainly be true to my aim.*

The English
lith con-
quer Ja-
maica.

THE English had not waited till their rivals had obtained a firm settlement in the great Antilles to procure themselves an establishment there. The declining state of the kingdom of Spain, weakened by its internal divisions, by the revolt of Catalonia and Portugal, by the commotions of Naples, by the destruction of its formidable infantry in the plains of Rocroy, by its continual losses in the Netherlands, by the incapacity of its ministers, and even by the extinction of that national pride, which after having been kept up and maintained by fixing itself on great objects, had degenerated into an indolent haughtiness : all these circumstances, tending to the ruin of the Spanish monarchy, left no room to doubt that war might be successfully waged against her. France skilfully took the advantage of these confusions she had partly occasioned ; and Cromwell, in the year 1655, joined her, in order to share in the spoils of a kingdom hastening to destruction in every part.

THIS conduct of the protector caused a revolt among the best English officers, who, considering it as an instance of great injustice, determined to quit the service. They thought that the will of their superiors could not give sanction to an enterprise, which violated all the principles of equity, and that by concurring to put it into execution, they would be guilty of the greatest crime.

The

The rest of the Europeans looked upon these principles of virtue and honour as the effect of that republican and fanatical spirit, which then prevailed in England ; but they attacked the protector with other motives.

SPAIN had long threatened to enslave all other nations. Perhaps, the multitude, who are little able to estimate the strength of nations, and to weigh the variations in the balance of power, were not yet recovered from their ancient prejudices. An universal panic had seized on the minds of those able men who attentively studied the general progress of affairs. They were sensible that if the rapid and extraordinary successes of France were not checked by some foreign power, she would deprive the Spaniards of their possessions, impose on them what laws she pleased, compel them to the marriage of the Infanta with Lewis the 14th, secure to herself the inheritance of Charles the 5th, and oppress the liberty of Europe that she had formerly protected. Cromwell, who had lately subverted the government of his country, seemed a fit person to give a check to the power of kings : but he was looked upon as the weakest of politicians, when he was observed to form connections, which his own private interests, those of his country, as well as those of Europe in general, ought absolutely to have prevented him from entering into.

THESE observations could not possibly escape the deep and penetrating genius of the usurper.

BOOK Bur, perhaps, he was desirous of preserving the
x. idea the nation already entertained of his abilities,
by some important conquest. If he had declared
himself on the side of Spain, the execution of this
project must have been chimerical ; as the utmost
he could possibly expect was to restore the balance
of power between the two contending parties. He
imagined it more favourable to his designs to be-
gin to form a connection with France, and after-
wards to attack her, when he had made himself
master of those possessions that were the object of
his ambition. Whatever truth there may be in
these conjectures, which, however, may be sup-
ported from the evidence of history, and are, at
least, consistent with the character of the extraor-
dinary politician, who is supposed to have adopt-
ed this method of reasoning, the English went
into the new world to attack an enemy they had
just brought upon themselves.

THEIR first attempts were directed against the town of St. Domingo, whose inhabitants retired into the woods as soon as they saw a large fleet commanded by Penn, and nine thousand land forces headed by Venables, appear before the ci-
ty. But the errors committed by their enemies, inspiring these fugitives with fresh courage, they returned, and compelled the enemy to reimbark with disgrace. This misfortune was the conse-
quence of the ill-concerted plan of this expedi-
tion.

THE two commanders of this enterprise, were B O O K men of very moderate abilities. They were at variance with each other, and ill affected to the protector. Inspectors had been appointed to watch over them, who, under the name of commissaries, checked their operations. The soldiers who were sent from Europe were the refuse of the army; and those that were taken from Barbadoes and St. Christopher's, were common robbers. They were forbidden to plunder, which was the only proper encouragement for men of this cast, and which the experience of all ages has found to be the most effectual motive to insure success in distant and dangerous enterprises. Every thing was settled in such a manner, that the soldiers could not be upon good terms with their officers, nor the officers with one another, nor the commissaries with either. Proper arms, provisions fit for the climate, and the information necessary to conduct the enterprise, were all wanting.

THE execution of the attack was answerable to the plan. The landing of the troops, which might have been effected without danger even in the port itself, was conducted without a guide at forty miles distance. The troops wandered about for four days, without water or provisions. Exhausted by the excessive heat of the climate, and discouraged by the cowardice and misunderstanding of their officers, they did not even contend with the Spaniards for victory. They scarce thought them-

BOOK selves in safety when they had got back to their ships.

BUT ill success contributed to reconcile the contending parties, that were highly exasperated with each other. The English, who had not yet contracted the habit of bearing disgrace, reclaimed by the very faults they had committed, and restored to the love of their country, to a sense of their duty, and a thirst for glory, sailed for Jamaica, under a fixed resolution, either to perish there, or to make the conquest of it.

THE inhabitants of this island, subject to Spain since the year 1509, were ignorant of what had happened at St. Domingo, and did not imagine they had any enemy sailing in their latitudes. The English therefore landed without opposition. They were boldly marching to lay siege to St. Jago, the only fortified place in the colony, when the governor gave a check to their ardour, by offering them terms of capitulation. The discussion of the articles, artfully prolonged, gave the colonists time to remove their most valuable effects into secret places. They themselves fled for shelter to inaccessible mountains, leaving only to the conquerors, a city without inhabitants, moveables, treasures, or provisions.

THIS artifice exasperated the besiegers to the highest degree. They sent out detachments on every side, with express orders to destroy every thing they met with. The disappointment they felt on finding these parties return without having dis-

discovered any thing ; the want of every convenience more sensibly felt by this nation than any other ; the mortality which increased among them every day ; the dread they were under of being attacked by all the forces of the new world : all these circumstances conspired to make them clamorous for returning to England. The cowardly desertion of so rich a prize as Jamaica, which they had almost resolved upon, would have soon exposed them to the mortifying reproaches of their country, had they not discovered some pasture land, where the Spaniards had conveyed their numerous flocks. So unexpected an instance of good fortune, occasioned a change in the sentiments of the English, and made them resolve to complete their conquest.

THE spirit of activity, which this last resolution had excited, convinced the besieged, that they could not remain with safety in the forests and precipices, where they had concealed themselves. They unanimously, therefore, agreed to set sail for Cuba. Here they were received with such marks of disgrace as the weakness of their defence deserved, and they were sent back again ; but with such succours as were unequal to the forces they had to contend with. From that principle of honour, which in most men arises rather from a fear of shame than a love of glory, they made a more obstinate resistance than could have been expected from the few resources they had. They did not evacuate this considerable island, till they were re-

BOOK duced to the greatest extremities ; and from that period it has been one of the most valuable possessions of Great Britain in the new world.

The Buccaneers ravaged the American seas. Pirates of both nations, who have since been forgotten, much distinguished by the name of Buccaneers, had driven the Spaniards out of the small island of Tortuga ; and fortifying themselves there, had with an amazing intrepidity, made excursions against the common enemy. They formed themselves into small companies, consisting of fifty, a hundred, or a hundred and fifty men each. A boat, of a greater or smaller size, was their only armament. Here they were exposed night and day to all the inclemencies of the weather, without having scarce room enough to lay down. A love of independence, the greatest blessing to those who are not proprietors of land, rendered them averse from those mutual restraints which the members of society impose upon themselves for the common good ; some of them chose to sing, while others were desirous of going to sleep. As the authority they had conferred on their captain, was confined to his giving orders in battle, they lived in the greatest confusion. Like the savages, having no apprehension of want, nor any care to preserve the necessaries of life, they were constantly exposed to the severest extremities of hunger and thirst. But deriving, even from their very distresses, a courage superior to every danger,

ger, the sight of a ship transported them to a book degree of frenzy. They never deliberated on the attack, but it was their custom to board the ship as soon as possible. The smallness of their vessels, and the skill they shewed in the management of them, screened them from the fire of the greater ships; and they presented only the fore part of their little vessels filled with fusileers; who fired at the port holes with so much exactness, that it entirely confounded the most experienced gunners. As soon as they threw out the grapping, the largest vessel seldom escaped them.

IN cases of extreme necessity, they attacked the people of every nation, but fell upon the Spaniards at all times. They thought that the cruelties they had exercised on the inhabitants of the new world, justified the implacable aversion they had sworn against them. But this was heightened by a personal pique, from the mortification they felt, in seeing themselves debarred from the privilege of hunting and fishing, which they justly considered as natural rights. Such were their principles of justice and religion, that whenever they embarked on any expedition, they used to pray to heaven for the success of it; and they never came back from the plunder, but they constantly returned thanks to God for their victory.

THE ships that sailed from Europe into America, seldom tempted their avidity. The merchandise they contained, would not easily have been sold, nor been very profitable to these barbarians in

BOOK in those early times. They always waited for
x. them on their return, when they were certain,
that they were laden with gold, silver, jewels and
all the valuable productions of the new world.
If they met with a single ship, they never failed
to attack her. As to the fleets, they followed
them, till they sailed out of the gulph of Bahama;
and as soon as any one of the vessels was separated
by accident from the rest, it was taken. The
Spaniards, who trembled at the approach of the
Buccaneers, whom they called devils, immediate-
ly surrendered. Quarter was granted if the cargo
were a rich one, if not, all the prisoners were
thrown into the sea.

PETER LEGRAND, a native of Dieppe, had no
more than four pieces of cannon and twenty-eight
men on any one of his vessels: with this small
number he ventured to attack the vice-admiral of
the galleons. He boarded them, having first given
orders to sink his own vessel; and the crew were
so surprised and intimidated by this daring instance
of bravery, that they made no resistance. He
went immediately to the captain's cabin, who was
then engaged at play, and having presented a
pistol to his throat, compelled him to surrender.
This commander, with the greater part of the
crew, they landed at the nearest cape, as an use-
less burthen to the ship they had so ill defended,
and reserved only a sufficient number of sailors to
work her.

FIFTY-FIVE Buccaneers, who had sailed into the ~~book~~ southern sea, proceeded as far as California. To return into the northern sea they were obliged to sail two thousand leagues against the wind in a canoe. They arrived at the streights of Magellan, when disappointed and chagrined at having made no plunder in so rich a country, they took the resolution to steer again their course towards Peru. They received intelligence that there was in the port of Auca, a ship whose cargo was valued at several millions: they took it, and immediately embarked upon it.

MICHAEL de Basco, Jonqué and Lawrence le Graff were cruising before Cartagena with three small vessels, when two men of war sailed out of the harbour with orders to attack these Buccaneers, and to bring them alive or dead. The pirates had no sooner perceived them, but they began the engagement and took them. Those who were not killed in the action were set on shore with a letter of thanks to the governor, for having sent two such good ships; at the same time acquainting him, that if he had still any to spare, they would wait for them a fortnight; but if they had no money on board, the men were not to expect any quarter.

THE captains Michael and Brouage, having received intelligence that, in order to elude their vigilance, a very valuable cargo had been shipped from Cartagena in vessels carrying a foreign flag; fell upon the two Dutch ships that were loaded.

with

BOOK with this treasure, and plundered them. The
x. Dutch, exasperated at their being beaten by ships so inferior to theirs in strength and size, ventured to tell Michael de Basco openly, that if he had been alone, he would not have been so successful. *Let us begin the fight again*, replied the captain, with haughtiness, and my companion shall only be spectator of the engagement. *If I am the conqueror, I will not only have the silver you carry on board, but both your ships shall also be mine.* The Dutch, far from accepting the challenge, quickly made off, fearing, that if they took any time to consider of it, they would not have the liberty of refusing.

Captain Lawrence was unexpectedly overtaken by two Spanish ships, carrying each sixty pieces of cannon, and fifteen hundred men. *You have*, said he, addressing himself, to his companions, *too much experience not be sensible of your danger, and too much courage to fear it.* On this occasion we must avail ourselves of every circumstance, hazard every thing, attack and defend ourselves at the same time. *Valour, artifice, rashness and even despair itself, must now be employed.* Let us dread the ignominy of a defeat; let us dread the cruelty of our enemies; and let us fight that we may escape them.

AFTER this speech, that was received with general applause, the captain called to the bravest of the Buccaneers, and, in the presence of the rest, ordered him to set fire to the gun-powder, on the first signal he should give him; shewing, by this resolution, that they must either expect death, or de-

defend themselves. He then ranged his men on both ~~book~~
sides of his vessel, and raising his voice, in order
to be more distinctly heard by every one, and ex-
tending his hand toward the enemy : *We must, says*
he, pass between their ships, and fire upon them from
every side. This plan of operation was executed
with equal courage and dispatch. The galleons,
however, were not taken ; but the ships company
were so reduced in number, that they either were
not able, or had not courage enough to continue
to combat against a handful of resolute men, who,
even in their retreat, had carried away the honour
of the victory. The Spanish commander atoned, by
his death, for the disgrace his ignorance and
cowardice had stamped upon his country. In
every engagement the Buccaneers shewed the same
spirit of intrepidity.

WHEN they had got a considerable booty, at
first they held their rendezvous at the island of
Tortuga, in order to divide the spoil ; but after-
wards the French went to St. Domingo, and the
English to Jamaica. Each person holding up his
hand solemnly protested that he had secreted no-
thing of what he had taken. If any one among
them was convicted of perjury, a case that seldom
happened, he was left, as soon as an opportunity
offered, upon some desert island, as a traitor un-
worthy to live in society. Such brave men among
them as had been maimed in any of their expedi-
tions, were first provided for. If they had lost a
hand, an arm, a leg, or a foot, they received two

hun-

is one hundred crowns*. An eye, a finger, or a toe, lost

in fight, was valued only at half the above sum.

The wounded were allowed a crown † a day for two months, to enable them to have their wounds taken care of. If they had not money enough to answer these several demands, the whole company were obliged to engage in some fresh expedition and to continue it till they had acquired a sufficient stock to enable them to satisfy such honourable contracts.

AFTER this act of justice and humanity, the remainder of the booty was divided into as many shares as there were Buccaneers. The commander could only lay claim to a single share as the rest; but they complimented him with two or three, in proportion as he had acquitted himself to their satisfaction. When the vessel was not the property of the company, the person who had fitted it out and furnished it with necessary arms and provisions, was entitled to a third of all the prizes. Favour never had any influence in the division of the booty; for every share was determined by lot. Instances of such rigid justice as this, are not easily met with; and they extended even to the dead. Their share was given to the man who was known to be their companion when alive, and therefore, their heir. If the person who had been killed had no intimate, his part was sent to his relations, when they were known. If there were no friends or relations, it was distributed in charity to the poor and

to

* 26l. 5s.

† 2s. 7d. $\frac{1}{4}$.

to churches, which were to pray for the person, in whose name these benefactions were given, the fruits of inhuman but necessary pyratical plunder.'

WHEN these duties had been complied with, they then indulged themselves in all kinds of profusion. Unbounded licentiousness in gaming, wine, women, every kind of debauchery was carried to the utmost pitch of excess, and was stopt only by the want which such profusions brought on. Those men who were enriched with several millions, were in an instant totally ruined, and destitute of cloths and provisions. They returned to sea, and the new supplies they acquired were soon lavished in the same manner. If they were asked, what satisfaction they could find in dissipating so rapidly, what they had gained with so much difficulty; they made this very ingenious reply : " Exposed as we are, to such a variety of dangers, our life is totally different from that of other men. Why should we, who are alive to-day, and may be dead to-morrow, think of hoarding up? We reckon only the day we have lived, but never think upon that which is to come. Our concern is rather to squander life away than to preserve it."

THE Spanish colonies flattering themselves with the hopes of seeing an end to their miseries, and reduced almost to despair in finding themselves a perpetual prey to these ruffians, grew weary of navigation. They gave up all the power, conveniences, and fortune their connections procured them,

BOOK them, and formed themselves almost into so many
x. distinct and separate states. They were sensible of
'the inconveniences arising from such a conduct,
and avowed them; but the dread of falling into
the hands of rapacious and savage men, had greater
influence over them, than the dictates of honour,
interest and policy. This was the rise of that spi-
rit of inactivity which continues to this time.

THIS despondency served only to increase the boldness of the Buccaneers. As yet they had only appeared in the Spanish settlements, in order to carry off some provisions, when they were in want of them. They no sooner found their captures begin to diminish, than they determined to recover by land what they had lost at sea. The richest and most populous countries of the continent were plundered and laid waste. The culture of lands was equally neglected with navigation; and the Spaniards dared no more appear in their public roads, than sail in the latitudes which belonged to them.

AMONG the Buccaneers, who signalized themselves in this new species of excursions, Montbar, a gentleman of Languedoc, particularly distinguished himself. Having, by chance, in his infancy, met with a circumstantial account of the cruelties practised in the conquest of the new world, he conceived an aversion that he carried to a degree of frenzy against that nation that had committed such enormities. Upon this point a story is told of him, that when he was at college, and acting

acting in a play the part of a Frenchman, who ~~book~~
quarrelled with a Spaniard, he fell upon the per- X.
son who personated the Spaniard, with such fury,
that he would have strangled him, had he not been
rescued out of his hands. His heated imagina-
tion continually represented to him innumerable
multitudes of people massacred by savage monsters
who came out of Spain. He was animated with
an irresistible ardour to revenge so much innocent
blood. The enthusiasm this spirit of humanity
worked him up to, was turned into a rage more
cruel than that of religious fanaticism, to which
so many victims had been sacrificed. The names
of these unhappy sufferers seemed to rouse him
and call upon him for vengeance. He had heard
some account of the Buccaneers, who were said to
be the most inveterate enemies to the Spanish
name : he therefore embarked on board a ship in
order to join them.

In the passage they met with a Spanish vessel,
attacked it, and as it was usual in those times,
immediately boarded it. Montbar, with a sabre
in his hand, fell upon the enemy, broke through
them, and hurrying twice from one end of the ship
to the other, levelled every thing that opposed him.
When he had compelled the enemy to surrender,
leaving to his companions the happiness of divid-
ing so rich a booty, he contented himself with the
savage pleasure of contemplating the dead bodies
of the Spaniards, lying in heaps together, against
whom he had sworn a constant and deadly hatred.

BOOK FRESH opportunities soon occurred, that enabled
x, him to exert this spirit of revenge, without extin-
guishing it. The ship he was in arrived at the
coast of St. Domingo ; where the Buccaneers on-
land immediately applied to barter some provisions
for brandy. As the articles they offered were of
little value, they alledged in excuse, that their
enemies had over-run the country, laid waste their-
settlements, and carried off all they could. "Why
" replied Montbar, do you tamely suffer such in-
"sults ?" "Neither do we, answered they in the
"same tone ; the Spaniards have experienced what
"kind of men we are, and have therefore taken
"advantage of the time when we were engaged in
"hunting. But we are going to join some of our
"companions, who have been still more ill-treat-
"ed than we, and then we shall have warm work."
"if you approve it, answered Montbar, I will
"head you, not as your commander, but as the
"foremost to expose myself to danger." The
Buccaneers perceiving, from his appearance, that
he was such a man as they wanted, chearfully ac-
cepted his offer. The same day they overtook
the enemy, and Montbar attacked them with an
impetuosity that astonished the bravest. Scarcely
one Spaniard escaped the effects of his fury. The
remaining part of his life was equally distinguis-
hed as this day. The Spaniards suffered so much
from him, both by land and at sea, that he ac-
quired the name of the *Exterminator*.

His savage disposition, as well as that of the ~~BOOK~~
other Buccaneers who attended him, having oblig-
ed the Spaniards to confine themselves within their
settlements, these free-booters resolved to attack
them there. This new method of carrying on the
war, required superior forces, and their associa-
tions in consequence became more numerous. The
first that was considerable, was formed by Lel-
nois, who derived his name from the sands of
Olones the place of his birth. From the abject
state of a bondsman, he had gradually raised him-
self to the command of two canoes, with twenty-
two men. With these he was so successful, as to
take a Spanish frigate on the coast of Cuba. A
slave having observed that after the engagement,
all the men who were wounded were put to death,
and fearing lest he should share the same fate,
wanted to save himself by a perfidious declaration,
but very consistent with the part he had been de-
stined to take. He assured them, that the gover-
nor of the Havannah had put him on board, in
order to serve as executioner to all the Buccaneers
he had sentenced to be hanged, not doubting in
the least but they would be all taken prisoners.
The savage Lolonois, fired with rage at this de-
claration, ordered all the Spaniards to be brought
before him, and cut off their heads one after an-
other, sucking, at each stroke, the drops of blood
that trickled down his sabre. He then repaired
to the Port-au-Prince, in which were four ships,
fitted out purposely to sail in pursuit of him. He

BOOK took them, and threw all the crew into the sea, except one man, whom he saved, in order to send him with a letter to the governor of the Havannah, acquainting him with what he had done, and assuring him, that he would treat in the same manner all the Spaniards that should fall into his hands, not excepting the governor himself, if he should be so fortunate as to take him. After this expedition, he ran his canoes and prize ships aground, and sailed with his frigate only to the island of Tortuga.

HERE he met with Michael de Basco, who had so much distinguished himself, for having taken, even under the cannon of Porto-Bello, a Spanish ship, estimated at five millions of livres*, and by other actions equally brave and daring. These two adventurers gave out, that they were going to embark together on an expedition equally glorious and profitable; in consequence of which they soon collected together four hundred and forty men. This body of men, the most numerous the Buccaneers had yet been able to muster, sailed to the bay of Venezuela, which runs up into the country, for the space of fifty leagues. The fort that was built at the entrance of it for its defence, was taken; the cannon nailed up, and the whole garrison, consisting of two hundred and fifty men, put to death. They then reimbarked, came to Maracaybo, built on the western coast of the lake of the same name, at the distance of ten leagues from its mouth.

This

* 238,500L.

This city, which had become flourishing and rich ~~so~~ by its trade in skins, tobacco, and cocoa, was deserted. The inhabitants had retired with their effects to the other side of the bay. If the Buccaneers had not lost a fortnight in riot and debauch, they would have found at Gibraltar, near the extremity of the lake, every thing that the inhabitants had secreted, to secure it from being plundered. On the contrary, they met with fortifications lately erected, which they had the useless satisfaction of making themselves masters of, at the expence of a great deal of blood; for the inhabitants had already removed at a distance the most valuable part of their property. Exasperated at this disappointment, they set fire to Gibraltar. Maracaybo would have shared the same fate, had it not been ransomed. Besides the sum they received for its ransom, they also carried off with them, all the crosses, pictures and bells of the churches; intending, as they said, to build a chapel in the island of Tortuga, and to consecrate this part of their spoils to sacred purposes. Such was the religion of these barbarous people, who could make no other offering to heaven, than that which arose from their robberies and plunder.

WHILE they were idly dissipating the spoils they had made on the coast of Venezuela, Morgan, the most renowned of the English Buccaneers, sailed from Jamaica to attack Porto-Bello. His plan of operations was so well contrived, that he surprised the city, and took it without opposition. In or-

So eager to secure the fort with the same facility, he
x. compelled the women and the priests to fix the
scaling ladders to the walls, from a full conviction,
that the gallantry and superstition of the Spaniards,
would never suffer them to fire at the persons they
considered as the objects of their love and rever-
ence. But the garrison was not to be deceived
by this artifice, and was only to be subdued by
force of arms ; the treasures that were carried away
from this famous port, were acquired at the ex-
pence of much bloodshed.

THE conquest of Panama was an object of much
greater importance. To secure this, Morgan
thought it necessary to sail in the latitudes of
Costa-Ricca, to procure some guides in the island
of St. Catherine's, where the Spaniards confined
their malefactors. This place was so strongly for-
tified, that it ought to have held out for ten years
against a considerable army. Notwithstanding this,
the governor, on the first appearance of the pi-
rates, sent privately to concert measures how he
might surrender himself without incurring the im-
putation of cowardice. The result of this consul-
tation was, that Morgan, in the night-time, should
attack a fort at some distance, and the governor
should sally out of the citadel to defend a post of
so much consequence ; that the assailants should
then attack him in the rear, and take him pris-
oner, which would consequently occasion a surren-
der of the place. It was agreed that a smart fir-
ing should be kept on both sides, without doing
mis-

mischief to either. This farce was admirably carried on. The Spaniards, without being exposed to any danger, appeared to have done their duty; and the Buccaneers, after having totally demolished the fortifications, and put on board their vessels a prodigious quantity of warlike ammunitions, which they found at St. Catherine's, steered their course towards the river Chagre, the only channel that was open to them to arrive at the place which was the object of their utmost wishes.

At the entrance of this considerable river, a fort was built upon a steep rock, which the waves of the sea constantly beat against. This bulwark, very difficult of access, was defended by an officer, whose extraordinary abilities were equal to his courage, and by a garrison that deserved such a commander. The Buccaneers, for the first time, here met with a resistance that could only be equalled by their perseverance; it was a doubtful point, whether they would succeed, or be obliged to raise the siege, when a lucky accident happened, that proved favourable to their glory and their fortune. The commander was killed, and the fort accidentally took fire: the besiegers then taking advantage of this double calamity, made themselves masters of the place.

MORGAN left his vessels at anchor, with a sufficient number of men to guard them, and sailed up the river in his sloops for thirty-three miles, till he came to Cruces, where it ceases to be navigable. He then proceeded by land to Panama, that was

BOOK only five leagues distant. Upon a large and extensive plain that was before the city, he met with a considerable body of troops, whom he put to flight with the greatest ease, and entered into the city, that was now abandoned.

HERE were found prodigious treasures concealed in the wells and caves. Some valuable commodities were taken upon the boats that were left aground at low water. In the neighbouring forests were also found several rich deposits. But the party of Buccaneers, who were making excursions into the country, little satisfied with this booty, exercised the most shocking tortures on the Spaniards, Negroes, and Indians they discovered, to oblige them to confess where they had secreted their own as well as their masters riches. A beggar accidentally going into a castle, that had been deserted through fear, found some apparel that he put on. He had scarcely dressed himself in this manner, when he was perceived by these pirates, who demanded of him where his gold was. The unfortunate man shewed them the ragged clothes he had just thrown off. He was instantly tortured, but as he made no discovery, he was given up to some slaves, who put an end to his life. Thus the treasure the Spaniards had acquired in the new world by massacres and tortures, were restored again in the same manner.

In the midst of such scenes of horror, the savage Morgan fell in love. His character was not likely to inspire the object of his attachment with favourable

favourable sentiments towards him. He was resolved therefore to subdue by force the Spaniard that inflamed and tormented him. Stop, cried she to this savage, as she sprung with eagerness out of his arms, *Stop : I binkeſt thou then, that thou canſt ravifh my honour from me, as thou baſt wretched from me my fortune and my liberty? Be affured that I can die and be revenged.* Having said this, she drew out a poignard from under her gown, which she would have plunged into his heart, had he not avoided the blow.

BUT Morgan, still inflamed with a passion, that this determined resistance had turned into madness, instead of the tenderness and attention he had made use of to subdue his captive, now proceeded to treat her with the greatest inhumanity. But the fair Spaniard, immovably resolute, excited, at the same time that she resisted the frantic behaviour of Morgan ; till at last the pirates, expressing their resentment, at being kept so long in a state of inactivity, by a caprice which appeared extravagant to them, he was under the necessity of listening to their complaints, and giving up his pursuit. Panama was burnt. They then set sail with a great number of prisoners, who were ransomed a few days after, and came to the mouth of the Chagre with a prodigious booty.

BEFORE the break of the day that had been fixed upon for the division of the spoil, Morgan, while the rest of the pirates were in a deep sleep, with the principal Buccaneers of his own country, failed

BOOK sailed for Jamaica, in a vessel which he had laden with the rich spoils of a city, that served as the staple of commerce between the old and the new world. This instance of treachery, unheard of before, occasioned a rage and resentment not to be described. The English pursued the robber, in hopes of wresting from him the booty of which their right and their avidity had been frustrated. The French, though sharers in the same loss, retired to the island of Tortuga, where they made several expeditions. But they were all trifling, till in the year 1603, they attempted one of the greatest consequence.

THE plan of this expedition was formed by Van Horn, a native of Ostend, though he had served all his life among the French. His intrepidity would never let him suffer the least signs of cowardice among those who associated with him. In the heat of an engagement he went about his ship, successively observed his men, and immediately killed those who shrank at the sudden report of a pistol, gun, or cannon. This extraordinary discipline had made him become the terror of the coward, and the idol of the brave. In other respects, he readily shared with the men of spirit and bravery the immense riches that were acquired by so truly warlike a disposition. When he went upon these expeditions, he generally sailed in his frigate, which was his own property. But these new designs requiring greater numbers to carry them into execution, he took to his assistance Grammont, God-

Godfrey, and Jonqué, three Frenchmen, distinguished by their exploits, and Lawrence de Graff, a Dutchman, who had signalized himself still more than they. Twelve hundred Buccaneers joined themselves to these famous commanders, and sailed in six vessels for Vera Cruz.

THE darkness of the night favoured their landing, which was effected at three leagues from the place, where they arrived without being discovered. The governor, the fort, the barracks, and the posts of the greatest consequence; every thing, in short, that could occasion any resistance, was taken by the break of day. All the citizens, men, women, and children, were shut up in the churches, where they had fled for shelter. At the door of each church were placed barrels of gunpowder to blow up the building. A Buccaneer, with a lighted Match, was to set fire to it upon the least appearance of an insurrection.

WHILE the city was kept in such terror, it was easily pillaged; and after the Buccaneers had carried off what was most valuable, they made a proposal to the citizens who were kept prisoners in the churches, to ransom their lives and liberties by a contribution of ten millions of livres*. These unfortunate people, who had neither ate nor drank for three days, chearfully accepted the terms that were offered them. Half of the money was paid the same day: the other part was expected from the internal parts of the country; when there appeared

* 437,500l.

BOOK peared on an eminence a considerable body of troops advancing, and near the port a fleet of seventeen ships from Europe. At the sight of this armament the Buccaneers, without any marks of surprize, retreated quietly with fifteen hundred slaves they had carried off with them, as a trifling indemnification for the rest of the money they expected, the settling of which they referred to a more favourable opportunity. These ruffians sincerely believed, that whatever they pillaged or exacted by force of arms upon the coasts where they made a descent, was their lawful property; and that God and their arms gave them an undoubted right not only to the capital of these contributions they compelled the inhabitants to sign a written engagement to fulfil, but even to the interest of that part of the sum that was not yet paid.

THEIR retreat was equally glorious and daring. They boldly sailed through the midst of the Spanish fleet, that let them pass without firing a single gun; and were, in fact, rather afraid of being attacked and beaten. The Spaniards would not probably have escaped so easily, and with no other inconvenience, but what arose from their fears, if the vessels of the pirates had not been laden with silver, or if the Spanish fleet had been freighted with any other effects but such merchandise as were little valued by these pirates.

A year had scarce elapsed since their return from Mexico, when on a sudden they were all seized with

with the rage of going to plunder the country of ~~BOOK~~ Peru. It is probable, that the hope of finding greater treasures upon a sea little frequented, than on one long exposed to piracies of this kind, was the cause of this expedition. But it is somewhat remarkable, that both the French and English, and the particular associations of these two nations, had projected this plan at the same time, without any communication, intercourse, or design of acting in concert with each other. About four thousand men were employed in this expedition. Some of them came to Terra-Firma, others by the freights of Magellan, to the place that was the object of their wishes. If the intrepidity of these barbarians had been directed, under the influence of a skilful and respectable commander, to one single uniform end, it is certain that they would have deprived the Spaniards of this important colony. But their natural character was an invincible obstacle to so rare an union; for they always formed themselves into several distinct bodies, sometimes even so few in number as ten or twelve, who acted together, or separated as the most trifling caprice directed. Grognyer, Lécuyer, Picard, and Le Sage, were the most distinguished officers among the French: David, Samms, Peter, Wilner, and Towley, among the English.

SUCH of those adventurers as had got into the South Sea by the freights of Darien, seized upon the first vessels they found upon the coast. Their associates, who had sailed in their own vessels,
were

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BOOK were not much better provided. Weak however
x. as they were, they beat several times the squadrons
that were fitted out against them. But these vic-
tories were prejudicial to them, as they interrupt-
ed their navigation. When there were no more
ships to be taken, they were continually obliged
to make descents upon the coasts to get provi-
sions; or to go by land in order to plunder those
cities where the booty was secured. They suc-
cessively attacked Seppa, Puebla-Nuevo, Leon,
Realejo, Puebla-Viejo, Chiriquita, Lesparso, Gra-
nada, Villia, Nicoya, Tecoanteca, Mucmeluna,
Chiloteca, New-Segovia, and Guayaquil, the most
considerable of all these places..

Many of them were taken by surprise, and
most of them deserted by their inhabitants, who
fled at the sight of the enemy; taking, however,
the precaution of carrying off with them their
valuable effects. The Spaniards never ventured
to defend themselves, unless they were at least
twenty in number to one, and even then they were
beaten. They were so much degenerated, that
they lost all ideas of the art of war, and were even
unacquainted with the use of fire-arms. They
were even more ignorant and cowardly than the
Americans they trampled upon. This want of
courage had increased from the terror the name
of a Buccaneer inspired them with. The monks
had drawn them in the same colours in which they
represented devils, as anthropophagi, beings who
had not even the appearance of humanity; a spe-
cies

cies of monkites, more mischievous than men. BOOK X.
Such a picture, the offspring of a wild and terrified imagination, equally imprinted on every mind aversion and terror. As the Spaniards always fled at the approach of these monsters in human shape, they knew of no other method of revenging themselves, but by burning or cutting in pieces a Buccaneer. As soon as these adventurers had quitted the place they had plundered, and any of them had been killed in the attack, the body was dug up again, mangled in different parts, or made to pass through the various kinds of torture, that would have been practised upon the man had he been alive. This abhorrence of the Buccaneers, was extended even to the places on which they had exercised their cruelties. The cities they had taken were excommunicated; the very walls and soil of the places which had been laid waste, were anathematized, and the inhabitants abandoned them for ever.

This rage equally impotent and childish, contributed only to embolden that of their enemies. As soon as they took a town, it was directly set on fire, unless a sum, proportioned to its value was given to save it. The prisoners taken in battle were massacred without mercy, if they were not ransomed by the governor or some of the inhabitants: gold, pearls, or precious stones, were the only things accepted of for the payment of their ransom. Silver being too common, and too weighty for its current value, would have been troublesome to them. The chances of fortune, that seldom

Book dom leave guilt unpunished, nor adversity without
x. a compensation for its suffering, atoned for the
crimes committed in the conquest of the new
world, and the Indians were amply revenged of
the Spaniards.

BUT it happened in this, as it generally does in events of this nature, that those who committed such outrages, did not long enjoy the fruits of them. Several of them died in the course of these piracies, from the effects of the climate, from distress or debauchery. Some were shipwrecked in passing the streights of Magellan and at Cape Horn. Most of those who attempted to get to the northern sea by land, fell into the ambuscade that was laid for them, and lost either their lives or the booty they had acquired. The English and French colonies gained very little by an expedition that lasted four years, and found themselves deprived of their bravest inhabitants.

WHILE such piracies were committed on the southern ocean, the northern was threatened with the same by Grammont. He was a native of Paris, by birth a gentleman, and had distinguished himself in a military capacity in Europe; but his passion for wine, gaming and women, had obliged him to join the pirates. His virtues, perhaps, were sufficient to have atoned for his vices. He was affable, polite, generous, and eloquent: he was endued with a sound judgment, and was a person of approved valour, which soon made him be considered as the chief of the French Buccaneers.

heers. As soon as it was known that he had taken ~~BOOK~~
up arms, he was immediately joined by a number
of brave men. The governor of St. Domingo,
who had at length prevailed upon his master to ap-
prove of the project, equally wise and just, of
fixing the pirates to some place, and inducing
them to become cultivators, was desirous of pre-
venting the concerted expedition, and forbade it in
the king's name. Grammont, who had a greater
share of sense than his associates, was not on that
account more inclined to comply, and sternly re-
plied: *How can Lewis disapprove of a design he is
unacquainted with, and which has been planned only
a few days ago?* This answer highly pleased all the
Buccaneers, who directly embarked, in 1685, to
attack Campeachy.

THEY landed without opposition. But at some
distance from the coast, they were attacked by eight
hundred Spaniards, who were beaten and pursued
to the town; where both parties entered at the
same time. The cannon they found there, was im-
mediately levelled against the citadel. As it had
very little effect, they were contriving some strat-
agem to enable them to become masters of the
place; when intelligence was brought that it was
abandoned. There remained in it only a gunner,
an Englishman, and an officer of such signal cou-
rage, that he chose rather to expose himself to the
greatest extremities, than basely to fly from the
place with the rest. The commander of the Bu-
caneers received him with marks of distinction,

BOOK generously released him, gave him up all his effects, and besides complimented him with some valuable presents: such influence have courage and fidelity even on the minds of those, who seem to violate all the rights of society.

THE conquerors of Campeachy spent two months in searching all the environs of the city, for twelve or fifteen leagues, carrying off every thing that the inhabitants, in their flight, thought they had preserved. When all the treasure they had collected from every quarter was deposited in the ships, a proposal was made to the governor of the province, who still kept the field, with nine hundred men, to ransom his capital city. His refusal determined them to burn it, and demolish the citadel. The French, on the festival of St. Louis, were celebrating the anniversary of their king; and in the transports of their patriotism, intoxication, and national love of their prince, they burnt to the value of a million of logwood; a part, and a very considerable one too, of the spoil they had made. After this singular and extravagant instance of folly, of which Frenchmen only could boast, they returned to St. Domingo.

THE little advantage which the English and French Buccaneers had made by their last expeditions upon the continent, had insensibly led them to have recourse to their usual pyratical expeditions upon the sea. Both were employed in attacking the ships they met with; when a particular train of circumstances again engaged the French

in that course which every thing had rendered ~~BOOK~~ them dissatisfied with. The powerful influence that the words glory, country and gold carry with them, determined twelve hundred of them to join a squadron of seven ships, that sailed from Europe in 1697, under the command of Pointis, to attack the famous city of Carthagena. This was the most difficult enterprise that could be attempted in the new world. The situation of the port, the strength of the place, the badness of the climate, were so many obstacles that seemed insurmountable to any but such men as the Buccaneers were. All nations concurred in conferring on them the glory they had acquired by their success; but they were basely deprived of the advantages resulting from it. The rapacious commander, who had gained booty, estimated at forty millions of livres*, scrupled not as soon as they set sail, to offer forty thousand crowns $\frac{1}{2}$ for the share of those who had been the chief instruments in procuring him so considerable a spoil.

THE Buccaneers, exasperated at this treatment, resolved immediately to board the vessel, called *the Scepter*, where Pointis himself was, and which, at that time, was too far distant from the rest of the ships, to expect to be assisted by them. This avaricious commander was upon the point of being massacred, when one of the malecontents tried out: *Bribren, why should we attack this rascal? he has carried off nothing that belongs to us. He has left our share at Carthagena, and there we*

BOOK must go to recover it. This proposal was received
x. with general applause. A savage joy at once succeeded that gloomy melancholy which had seized them, and without further deliberation, all their ships sailed towards the city.

As soon as they had entered the city without meeting with any resistance, they shut up all the men in the great church, and spoke to them in the following words : " We are sensible that you consider us as men void of faith and of all religion, " as devils rather than men. The opprobrious language you affect to make use of when you speak of us, and the refusal you have made to treat with us of the surrender of your city, are evident indications of the sentiments you entertain of us. You see us here armed, and capable of avenging ourselves. The paleness visible upon your countenances, convinces us that you expect the most severe treatment, and your conscience testifies that you deserve it. We shall soon undeceive you, and convince you that we do not deserve the infamous appellations you load us with: but that they belong rather to the general under whose command we have lately fought. The traitor has deceived us. Though he owes the conquest of this city to our valour, he yet refuses to share the spoils of it with us, and by this instance of injustice has compelled us to return to you. We do it with regret, and the moderation we shall shew will be a proof of it. We pledge our faith " to

" to you, that we will immediately retreat as soon as o o k
" as you have paid us five millions of livres*;
" this is the utmost of our claim. But if you re-
" fuse us so equitable a demand, the greatest dif-
" fresses await you, the cause of which you can only
" ascribe to yourselves, and the infamous Pointis,
" whom you are at liberty to load with all kinds
" of execrations."

AFTER this discourse, the most venerable priest in the city mounted the pulpit, and made use of the influence that his character, his authority, and his eloquence gave him, to persuade his hearers to yield up without reserve all the gold, silver and jewels they had. The collection, which was made after the sermon, not furnishing the sum required, the city was ordered to be plundered. From the houses they proceeded to pillage the churches, and even the tombs, but not with that success they expected, and they concluded by torturing the principal inhabitants.

Two of the citizens of the greatest distinction were seized, and separately questioned where the public money and that of the individuals was deposited. They declared they knew nothing of the matter; but their answer was accompanied with so much simplicity as well as firmness, that the pirates would not make use of any severities against them. It was, however, agreed, that they should apparently be killed, by discharging several shots at them. Two other citizens were then

BOOK called ; whose behaviour was similar to that of the
x. former, and the same ceremony was practised upon them. It was publickly given out that all the four had been killed, and that all those who should persist in the same obstinate silence, should be treated in the same manner. This proclamation proved extremely successful, for above a million* was brought in the very same day ; and some further contributions were made some days after. The adventurers, at length, despairing to add any thing to what they had already amassed, set sail. Unfortunately they met with a fleet of Dutch and English ships, both those nations being then in alliance with Spain. Several of the pirates were either taken or sunk, with all the cargo they had on board their ships ; the rest escaped to St. Domingo.

SUCH was the last memorable event in the history of the Buccaneers. The separation of the English and French, when the war, on account of the Prince of Orange, divided the two nations : the successful means they both made use of to promote the cultivation of land among their colonies, by the assistance of these enterprising men, and the prudence they shewed in fixing the most distinguished among them and intrusting them with civil and military employments : the protection they were both under a necessity of affording to the Spanish settlements, which till then had been a general object of plunder : all these circumstances,

* 43,750l.

cumstances, and various others, besides the im- BOOK X.
possibility there was of supplying the place of these remarkable men, who were continually dropping off concurred to put an end to a society, as extraordinary as ever existed. Without any regular system, without laws, without any degree of subordination, and even without any fixed revenue, they became the astonishment of that age in which they lived, as they will be also of posterity. They would have conquered all America, if conquest and not piracy had been the motive of their actions.

ENGLAND, France and Holland had sent at different times considerable fleets into the new world. The intemperance of the climate, the want of subsistence, the dejection of the troops, rendered the best concerted schemes unsuccessful. Neither of these nations acquired any national glory, nor made any considerable progress by them. Upon the very scene of their disgrace, and on the very spot where they were so shamefully repulsed, a small number of adventurers, who had no other resources to enable them to carry on a war, but what the war itself afforded them, succeeded in the most difficult enterprises. They supplied the want of numbers and of power, by their activity, their vigilance, and bravery. An unbounded passion for liberty and independence, excited and kept up in them that energy of soul that enables us to undertake and execute every thing; it produced that vigour, that superiority in action, which the most

BOOK approved military discipline, the most powerful
x. combinations of strength, the best regulated go-
vernments, the most honourable and most striking
rewards and marks of distinction, will never be
able to excite.

THE principle which actuated these extraordinary and romantic men, is not easily discovered. It cannot be ascribed to want : the earth they trod upon, offered them immense treasures, collected ready to their hand by men of inferior capacities. Can it then be imputed to avarice ? But would they then have squandered away in a day the spoils acquired in a whole campaign ? As they properly belonged to no country, they did not therefore sacrifice themselves for its defence, for the aggrandizing its territories, or revenging its quarrels. The love of glory, had they known it, would have prevented them from committing such numberless enormities and crimes, which cast a shade on all their brightest actions. Neither could a spirit of indolence and ease ever make men rush into constant fatigues, and submit to the greatest dangers.

WHAT then were the moral causes that gave rise to so singular a society as that of the Buccaneers ? That country, where nature seems to have obtained a perpetual and absolute power over the most turbulent passions ; where the intemperate riot and intoxication occasioned by public festivals, was necessary to rouze men from an habitual state of lethargy ; where they lived satisfied with their tedi-

ous and indolent course of life : that country became at once inhabited by an ardent and impetuous people, who from the scorching heat of their atmosphere, seemed to have carried their sentiments to the greatest excess, and their passions to a degree of phrenzy. While the heats of a burning climate enervated the old conquerors of the new world ; while the Spaniards, who were so restless, and turbulent in their own country, enjoyed with conquered Americans a life habituated to ease and melancholy ; a set of men, who had come out of the most temperate climates in Europe, went under the equator to acquire powers unknown before.

If we are desirous of tracing the origin of this revolution, we may perceive that it arises from the Buccaneers having lived under the shackles of European governments. The spirit of liberty being repressed for so many ages, exerted its power to a degree almost inconceivable, and occasioned the most terrible effects that ever appeared in the moral world. Restless and enthusiastic men of every nation joined themselves to these adventurers, as soon as they heard of the success they had met with. The charms of novelty, the idea of and desire excited by distant objects, the want of a change in situation, the hopes of better fortune, the impulse which excites the imagination to the undertaking of great actions, admiration, which easily induces men to imitation, the necessity of getting the better of those impediments that are the consequences of imprudence, the force of example,

BOOK ample, and the being equally partakers of the
X. same good and bad fortune among those who have
frequently associated together; in a word, the
temporary ferment which all the elements toge-
ther with several accidental circumstances, had
raised in the minds of men, alternately elevated to
the greatest prosperity, or sunk in the deepest dis-
tress; at one time stained with blood, at another
plunged into voluptuousness, rendered the Bucca-
neers a people wholly distinct in history; but a
people whose duration was so transient, that its
glory lasted, as it were, but a moment.

We are, however, accustomed to consider these
ruffians with a kind of abhorrence. This they de-
serve; as the instances of fidelity, integrity, disin-
terestedness and generosity, they shewed to one
another, did not prevent the outrages they perpe-
tually committed against mankind. But amidst
such enormities, it is impossible not to be struck
with a variety of brave and noble actions, that
would have reflected honour on the most virtuous
people.

SOME Buccaneers had agreed for a certain sum
to escort a Spanish ship, very richly laden. One
of them ventured to propose to his companions to
enrich themselves at once, by making themselves
masters of the ship. The famous Montauban,
who was the commander of the troop, had no sooner
heard the proposal, than he desired to resign the
command, and to be set on shore. What! re-
plied these brave men, would you then leave us?

Is there any one who approves of the treachery ~~B O O K~~ that you abhor? A council was immediately held; and it was determined that the guilty person should be thrown upon the first coast they came to. They took an oath, that so dishonest a man should never be admitted in any expedition in which any of the brave men present should be concerned, as they would think themselves dishonoured by such a connection. If this is not to be looked upon as an instance of heroism, must we then expect to meet with heroes in an age, in which every thing great is turned into ridicule, under the idea of enthusiasm?

AMERICA had scarcely recovered from the ravages she had sustained: she had scarce begun to be sensible of the advantages she derived from the industry of the Buccaneers, who were now become citizens and husbandmen; when the old world exhibited the scene of such a revolution, as alarmed and terrified the new. Charles the second, king of Spain, had just ended a life of trouble and anxiety. His subjects persuaded that a descendant of the house of Bourbon alone, was able to preserve the monarchy entire, had urged him towards the close of his life, to appoint the duke of Anjou his successor. The idea of having the government of two and twenty kingdoms devolve to a family that was not only his rival, but his enemy, had filled him with the most gloomy apprehensions. But after several internal struggles, and numberless marks of irresolution,

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lish and
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BOOK he at last prevailed upon himself to shew an example of justice, and greatness of soul, which the natural weakness of his character gave little reason to expect from him.

EUROPE, tired out for half a century, with the haughtiness, ambition, and tyranny of Lewis the XIV, exerted its combined forces to prevent the increase of a power already become too formidable. The fatal effects of a bad administration, had entirely enervated the Spaniards; the spirit of superstition, and consequently of weakness, that prevailed then in France, had procured such advantages to the league, as are hardly to be paralleled from the union of several powers against a single one. This league gained an influence, that was increased by the victories, equally glorious and beneficial, it obtained every campaign. Both kingdoms were soon left without strength or fame. To add to their misfortunes, their calamities were a general object of joy, and none were touched with a sense of compassion at the miseries they experienced.

ENGLAND and Holland, after having profusely lavished their blood and treasures in defence of the Emperor, thought it necessary to attend to their own interests in America. This country invited them to rich as well as easy conquests. Spain, since the destruction of its galleons at Vigo, had no ships; and France, after having experienced that fatal reverse of fortune that had reduced her

to the lowest ebb, had neglected her navy. This book inattention was owing to a distant cause.

Lewis the XIV. was, in his earlier age, ambitious of every thing that might add to his glory, and consequently imagined, that without a navy, the splendour of his reign would in some degree be diminished. It is more than probable, that he considered his fleet only as one of the means that would tend to fill all nations with admiration, to punish the Genoese and Algerines, and convey the terror of his name to the extremities of the globe. Had he, in that plan of greatness he was desirous of acquiring to himself, considered a naval power as a part of it, he would have imitated Cromwel, and encouraged navigation, which supports a marine by commerce. False ideas of things misled him in this particular. In proportion as the restlessness of his temper drew upon him fresh enemies, and that he found himself obliged to maintain a greater number of troops in constant pay; that the frontiers of the kingdom were extended, and that his forts were more numerous, the number of his ships decreased. He made use of part of the funds that were destined to establish his maritime power, even before his necessities obliged him to it. The frequent removals of the court, public buildings that were either useless or too magnificent, objects of ostentation or of mere pleasure, and various other causes, equally trifling, drained the money that ought to have been employed in supporting his navy. From that time,

this

BOOK this part of the power of France began to grow.

x. weak : it insensibly declined, and was entirely lost in the misfortunes of the war that was raised for the Spanish succession.

AT this period the acquisitions the Spanish and French had made in the West-Indies, were not put in a state of defence. They were, therefore, the more likely soon to become the property of Great Britain and the United Provinces ; the only modern nations who had established their political influence upon the principles of commerce. The vast discoveries of the Spaniards and Portuguese, had given them, indeed, an exclusive possession of those treasures and productions that seemed to promise them the empire of the world, if riches could obtain it : but these nations, intoxicated as they were with the love of gold and the idea of conquest had never in the least suspected that their possessions in the new world could support their power in the old. The English and Dutch went into the contrary extreme, building their opinions upon the system of the influence they supposed America must necessarily give to Europe. A system which they not only misapplied, but carried to excess.

THESE two nations, one of which had no natural advantages, and the other very inconsiderable ones, had from the earliest period discovered the true principles of commerce, and pursued them with greater perseverance than might have been expected from the different situations they had been

been engaged in. Accidental circumstances having at first animated the industry of the poorest of these nations, she found herself very quickly equalled by her rival power, whose genius was more lively, and whose resources were much greater. The war, occasioned by a spirit of industry, and excited by jealousy, soon degenerated into fierce, obstinate and bloody engagements. These were not merely such hostilities as are carried on between two different people; they resembled rather the hatred and revenge of one private man against another. The necessity they were under of uniting, in order to check and restrain the power of France, suspended these hostilities. The success they met with, which was, perhaps, too rapid and decisive, revived their former animosity. From the apprehension they were under, that each state was labouring for the aggrandizement of the other, they entirely neglected the invasion of America. Queen Anne, at length, availing herself of a favourable opportunity for concluding a separate peace, procured such advantageous terms, as gave the English a great superiority over their rivals the Dutch. From that time England became of the greatest importance in the political system of Europe, and Holland was totally disregarded.

The years succeeding the peace of Utrecht, revived the ideas of the golden age to the world, which would be always in a sufficient state of tranquillity, if the Europeans did not disturb its peace, by carrying their arms and their dissensions into every

BOOK every quarter of the globe. The fields were now no more covered with dead bodies.

The husbandman was not laid waste. The sailor ventured to sail in every sea without dread of pirates. Mothers no more saw their children forced from them to lavish their blood at the caprice of a weak monarch, or an ambitious minister. Nations did no longer unite to gratify the passions of their sovereigns. For some time, men lived together as brethren, as much, at least, as the pride of princes and the avidity of the people would allow.

THOUGH this general happiness was to be attributed to those who held the reins of government, yet the improvements of reason contributed, in some degree, to produce it. Philosophy then began to lay open and recommend the sentiments of benevolence. The writings of some philosophers had been made public or dispersed among the people, and contributed to polish and refine their manners. The spirit of moderation had inspired men with the love of the more useful and pleasing arts of life, and abated, at least, the desire they till then had of destroying one another. The thirst of blood seemed to be asswaged, and all nations, with the assistance of the discoveries they had made, ardently set about the improvement of their population, agriculture and manufactures.

THIS spirit of activity exerted itself principally in the Caribbee islands. The states upon the continent can subsist, and even flourish, when the rage of war is kindled in their neighbourhood and

on their frontiers; because the principal object of ~~BOOK~~
their attention is the culture of their lands, their
manufactures, their subsistence and internal con-
sumptions. The case is very different with regard
to those settlements that different nations have
formed in the great Archipelago of America. In
these, life and property are equally precarious.
None of the necessaries of life are the natural pro-
duce of the climate. Wearing apparel and the
instruments of husbandry are not even made in the
country. All their commodities are intended for
exportation. Nothing but an easy and safe com-
munication with Africa, with the northern coasts
of the new world, but principally with Europe,
can procure these islands that free circulation of
the necessities of life they receive, and of those
superfluities they give in exchange for them. The
more the colonists had suffered from the effects of
that long and dreadful commotion, that had
thrown every thing into confusion, the greater
was their vigilance in endeavouring to repair the
losses their fortunes had sustained. The very hopes
entertained that the general weakness would in-
sure a lasting tranquillity, encouraged the most
cautious merchants to supply the colonists with
goods in advance; a circumstance that contribut-
ed greatly to quicken the progress they made;
which, notwithstanding all their care and atten-
tion; would otherwise have been very slow. These
assurances insured as well as increased the pros-
perity of the islands, till a storm; that had been a

8000 long time gathering, broke out in the year 1739,
X. and disturbed the peace of the world.

The islands of America are the cause of the elements in the new world, which custom had long made them consider as lawful. The court of Madrid, becoming better acquainted with its interests, concerted measures to put a stop to, or at least to check this intercourse. The plan might possibly be prudent, but it was necessary it should be put in execution with equity. If the ships that were intended to prevent this fraudulent trade had only seized upon those vessels that were concerned in it, this measure would have deserved commendation. But the abuses inseparable from violent measures, the eagerness of gain, and, perhaps, too a spirit of revenge, incited them to stop, under the pretext of their carrying on a contraband trade, many ships which in reality had a legal destination.

ENGLAND, whose security, power and glory is founded upon commerce, could not very patiently suffer even her usurpations to be restrained ; but was highly incensed when she found that these hostilities were carried to an excess inconsistent with the law of nations. In London, and in the house of parliament, general complaints were made against the authors of them, and invectives against the minister who suffered them. Walpole, who had long ruled Great Britain, and whose character and abilities were better adapted to peace than war, and the Spanish council which shewed less spirit

spirit as the storm increased, concerted together B O O K terms of reconciliation. Those fixed upon, and signed at Pardo, were not approved by a people equally inflamed by its interests, its resentments, and by party spirit, and especially by the number of political writings that were constantly published on the subject.

ENGLAND teems daily with numberless productions of the press, in which all the concerns of the nation are treated with freedom. Among these writings some are judicious, written by men of understanding, or citizens well informed and zealous for the public good. Their advice contributes to discover to the public their true interests, and to assist the operations of government. Few useful regulations of internal oeconomy are adopted in the state, that have not first been pointed out, modelled, or improved in some of these writings. Unhappy are the people who are deprived of such an advantage. But among the few sensible men, who serve to enlighten their country, numbers are to be met with, who either from a disgust to those in power, or from a desire of falling in with the taste of the people, or from some personal motives, delight in fomenting a spirit of dissention and discontent. The means generally made use of for this purpose, are to heighten the pretensions of their country beyond their just and legal bounds, and to make the people consider the smallest precautions taken by other powers for the preservation of their possessions, as

BOOK visible encroachments. These exaggerations, equal-

x. ly partial and fallie, establish prejudices the effects of which occasion the nation to be constantly at war with its neighbours. If government, from a desire of preserving the balance of justice between itself and other powers, should refuse to yield to popular prejudices, it finds itself, at length, under a necessity of doing it.

THE mob of London, the most contemptible of any in the universe, as the people of England considered in a political view, are the first people in the world ; abetted by twenty thousand young men, the sons of distinguished merchants, beset the parliament house with clamours and threats, and influence its deliberations. Such tumults are frequently excited by a party in the parliament itself. These despicable men, once rouzed, revile the most respectable citizen, who has incurred their displeasure, and been rendered suspicious to them : they set fire to his house, and scandalously insult the most sacred characters. The tumult can never be appeased, unless they force the ministry to yield to their fury. This indirect, though continual influence of commerce upon the public measures, was, perhaps, never so sensibly felt as at the period we are speaking of.

ENGLAND began the war with much superior advantages. She had a great number of sailors on foot. Her storehouses filled with warlike ammunitions, and her dock-yards were in the most flourishing condition. Her fleets were all manned and

and ready for service, and commanded by experienced officers, waited only for orders to set sail, and spread the terror and glory of her flag to the extremities of the world. Walpole, by neglecting such great advantages, must not be censured as having betrayed his country. In this particular he is above suspicion, since he was never even accused of corruption, in a country where such charges have been often made without being believed. His conduct, however, was not entirely irreproachable. The apprehension he was under of involving himself in difficulties that might endanger his administration; the necessity he found of applying those treasures in military operations, that he had amassed to bribe and secure to himself a party, joined to that of imposing new taxes, which must necessarily raise to the highest degree the aversion that had been entertained both for his person and principles: all these, and some other circumstances occasioned an irresolution in his conduct that was attended with the most fatal consequences. He lost time, which is of the utmost importance in every expedition, but particularly decisive in all naval operations,

THE fleet that Vernon commanded, after having destroyed Porto-Bello, was unsuccessful at Cartagena, rather from the badness of the climate, the misunderstanding and inexperience of the officers, than the valour of the garrison. Anson's fleet was lost at the doubling of Cape Horn, which some months sooner might have been performed

BOOK formed without danger. If we were to judge of X. what he might have done with his whole squadron, 'from what he actually performed with a single ship, it is not improbable but that he would at least have shaken the empire of the Spaniards in the South Sea. A settlement that was attempted in the island of Cuba was not prosperous. Those who intended building a city there, all died. General Oglethorpe, after having opened the trenches for thirty-eight days, was forced to raise the siege of fort St. Austin in Florida, vigorously defended by Manuel Montiano, who had time enough to prepare himself against the attack.

THOUGH the first efforts of the English against Spanish America, were not successful, yet the alarm was not appeased. The navy, the character, and government of the English, were three great resources they had still left, sufficient to make the Spaniards tremble. In vain did France unite her naval powers, to act in conjunction with those of Spain. This confederacy neither checked the intrepidity of the common enemy, nor animated the minds of such as were overwhelmed with fear. Fortunately for both nations, as well as for America, the death of the emperor Charles the VIth, had kindled in Europe an obstinate war, in which the British troops were detained, to support an interest that was extremely doubtful. The hostilities, commenced in distant countries with such great preparations, terminated at last insensibly in a few piracies, that were committed on both sides.

The

The most remarkable event that happened at that ~~BOOK~~ time, was the taking of Cape-Breton, which exposed the fishery, commerce and colonies of France, to the greatest dangers. This valuable possession was restored to the French at the peace; but the treaty that gave it up, was not less the object of censure.

THE French, ever influenced by a spirit of chivalry, that has so long been the dazzling folly of all Europe, imagine the sacrifice of their lives sufficiently compensated, if it has contributed to extend the frontiers of their country; that is to say, when they have compelled their prince to the necessity of governing them with less attention and equity than he did before; but if their territory remains the same as it was before the war, they then think their honour is lost. This rage for conquest, excusable indeed in a barbarous age, but which more enlightened ones should never be reproached with, threw disgrace on the peace of Aix-la Chapelle, which restored to Austria all the places that had been taken from her. The nation, too trifling and capricious, to attend to political discussions, could not be convinced, that by forming any kind of establishment for the infant Don Philip, an alliance with Spain was effectually secured; that she herself was thereby engaged to adjust, with the house of Austria, some interests of the greatest importance: that by becoming guarantees to the king of Prussia for Silesia, two rival powers would in consequence of such

BOOK an arrangement be formed in Germany; to produce which happy effect had been the labour and care of two centuries: that by restoring Friburg, and those towns in Flanders that had been destroyed, they would be easily retaken, if war should again be declared and carried on with vigour: besides, that the number of land forces might always be very easily diminished of fifty thousand men, and the saving which such a reduction would produce, might and ought to be employed in increasing the navy.

If therefore the French nation had not even been obliged to attend to the management of its affairs at home, which were then in a very alarming state; if her credit and commerce had not been entirely ruined; if some of her most considerable provinces had not been in the greatest distress; if she had not lost the key of Canada; if her colonies had not been threatened with certain and immediate invasion; if her navy had not been so entirely destroyed, as scarcely to have a ship left to send into the new world; and if Spain had not been upon the point of concluding a separate treaty with England: independent of all these circumstances, yet the peace, that was then made, would have deserved the approbation of the most sensible and judicious men.

THE ease with which Marshal Saxe could penetrate into the internal provinces of the Netherlands, was an object that particularly attracted the French. It will readily be allowed, that nothing seemed im-

impossible to the victorious arms of Lewis the XV; ~~but it may be thought~~ but it may be thought paradoxical to assert, that the English were extremely desirous of seeing the Dutch subdued. If the republic, which could not possibly separate itself from its allies, had been conquered, its inhabitants, filled as they were with ancient as well as present prejudices against the government, laws, manners and religion of their conqueror would hardly have submitted to his dominion. Would they not certainly have conveyed their people, their stock, and their industry to Great Britain? And can there be the least doubt whether such considerable advantages would not have been infinitely more valuable to the English, than an alliance with the Dutch?

To this observation let us venture to add another, which though not attended to before, will, perhaps, not seem less evident. The court of Vienna has been thought either very fortunate, or very skilful, to have been able by the means of negotiations, to have wrested out of the hands of the French those places which had been taken from her during the war. But would she not have been more fortunate, or more skilful, had she suffered her enemy to keep part of the conquests obtained over her? That period is now passed, when the house of Austria was equal, or, perhaps, superior to the house of Bourbon. Policy, therefore, should have engaged her to interest other powers in her fortune, even from the losses she had sustained. This she might have effected by sacrificing

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occupying something, apparently at least, to France. Europe, alarmed at the increasing power of this monarchy, which is naturally an object of hatred, envy and fear, would have renewed that spirit of animosity that had been sworn against Lewis the XIV; and more formidable leagues would necessarily have been formed in consequence of such sentiments. This general disposition of people was more likely to have recovered the greatness of the new house of Austria, than the re-acquisition of a distant and limited territory, always open to an attack.

IT is probable, however, that the French plenipotentiary who managed the negociation, as well as the minister who directed it, would have seen through the artifice. We do not even scruple to assert, that neither of these statesmen had any view of extending the French dominions. But would they have found the same penetration to unravel political designs in the council, to which they were responsible for their conduct? This is a point we cannot presume to determine. All governments are generally inclined to extend their territories, and that of France is, from its constitution, equally so.

BUT whatever truth there may be in these reflections, it must be allowed, that the expectations of the two French ministers, who settled the peace, were disappointed. The principal object they had in view was the preservation of the colonies, that had been threatened by the enemy. But as soon

as the danger was over, this unbounded source of opulence was neglected. France kept on foot a large body of troops, retained in her pay a great part of Germany, and acted in the same manner as if another Charles the Vth had threatened her frontiers; or another Philip the II^d could have thrown the internal parts of the kingdom into confusion by his intrigues: She was not sensible that her superiority upon the continent was acknowledged, that no single power could venture to attack her; and that the event of the last war, and the arrangements settled by the last peace, had rendered the union of several powers against her impossible. A number of apprehensions equally weak and trifling disturbed her tranquillity. Her prejudices prevented her from perceiving that she had only one enemy really deserving her attention, and that this enemy only could be restrained by a considerable fleet.

THE English naturally more inclined to envy the prosperity of others than to enjoy their own, are not only desirous of becoming rich, but of being exclusively so. Their ambition is gain, as that of the Romans was empire. They do not properly seek to extend their dominions, but their colonies. Commerce is the sole object of all the wars they are engaged in, and the desire of engrossing it all to themselves, has made them perform many great actions, and commit the most flagrant acts of injustice. This passion is so powerful that even their philosophers are not free from it.

book it. The celebrated Mr. Boyle used to say, that it would be a commendable action to preach Christianity to the savages; because, were they to know only so much of it as would convince them of their obligation to wear clothes, it would prove of great service to the English manufactures.

America was the cause of the war in 1755. A system of this nature, that the English have scarcely ever lost sight of, discovered itself more openly in 1755, than it had ever done before.

The rapid improvements made in the French colonies surprised every attentive mind, and awakened the jealousy of the English. Ashamed however, to let it appear at first, they concealed it for some time under mysterious disguises; and a people who have pride or modesty enough to term negotiations the *artillery of their enemies*, did not scruple to employ all the windings and artifices of the most insidious policy.

FRANCE, alarmed at the confused state of her finances, intimidated by the small number of her ships, and the inexperience of her admirals; seduced by a love of ease, pleasure and tranquillity, favoured the attempts that were made to deceive her. In vain did some able statesmen continually urge that Great Britain was and ought to be desirous of a war; and that she was compelled to begin it before the naval establishment of her rival had attained to the same degree of perfection as her trading navy. These causes of apprehension seemed absurd in a country where trade had been hitherto carried on by a spirit of imitation only; where

where it had been shackled by every species of ~~book~~ restraint, and always sacrificed to finance; where it had never met with any real encouragement, and men were, perhaps, ignorant that they were in possession of the most valuable and richest commerce in the world. A nation, that was indebted to nature for a most excellent soil; to chance for her colonies; to the vivacity and pliancy of her disposition for a taste in those arts which vary and increase the enjoyments of life; to her conquests and her literary merit, and even to the dispersion of the protestants she had unfortunately lost, for the desire excited in other countries of imitating her: this nation that would be too happy, were she permitted to enjoy her happiness, would not perceive that she might be deprived of some of these advantages, and insensibly fell a sacrifice to those arts employed to lull her into security. When the English thought there was no further occasion to dissemble, they commenced hostilities; without having previously paid any attention to those formalities, that are in use among civilized people.

THOUGH a declaration of war were only a mere ceremony between nations, which seem to be bound by no ties as soon as they intend to massacre one another; yet it is very evident, that the British ministry were more than doubtful of the injustice of their conduct. The timidity of their measures the perplexity of their operations, the prevaricating modes of justification they adopted, and the in-

BOOK influence they in vain exerted to make parliament

X. approve so scandalous a violation ; these with several other circumstances plainly discovered the guilt of their proceeding. If those weak ministers of so great a power, had been as bold in committing crimes, as they appeared regardless of the laws of virtue, they would have formed a project of the most extensive nature. When they unjustly gave orders to attack all the French ships upon the northern coast of America, they would have extended these orders to every sea. The ruin of the only power that was capable of making any resistance, would have been the necessary consequence of such a strong confederacy. Its fall would have intimidated all other nations, and wherever the English flag had appeared, it would have commanded obedience in every quarter of the world. A success so remarkable and decisive would have made the multitude overlook the violation of public right, would have justified it to the political world, and the remonstrances of the wise, would have been lost in the clamours of the ignorant and ambitious.

The beginning of the war is attended with very contrary effects. The council of George the III was hated as well as despised over all Europe ; and the events corresponded to these sentiments. France, though unexpectedly attacked, was victorious in Canada, gained considerable advantages by sea, took Minorca, and threatened London itself. Her rival was then sensible

sible of the truth of what men of understanding ~~book~~
had long since observed in England, that the x.
French united the greatest contrarieties in their
character; that they blended virtues and vices,
marks of weakness and strength that had always
been thought inconsistent with each other; that
they were brave, though effeminate; equally ad-
dicted to pleasure and glory; serious in trifles, and
trifling in matters of importance; ever disposed to
war, and ready to attack: in a word, mere chil-
dren, suffering themselves, as the Athenians of
old, to be disquieted and moved to anger for real or
imaginary interests; fond of enterprises and action,
ready to follow any guide, and comforted in the
greatest misfortunes with the most trifling success.
The English, who according to a vulgar, though
strong expression of Swift's, are *always in the cel-
lar or in the garret*, and know no medium, began
then to be too much afraid of a nation that they
had unjustly despised. A spirit of despondency
succeeded to that of presumption.

THE nation, corrupted by the too great confi-
dence it had placed in its opulence; humiliated
by the introduction of foreign troops, and by the
moral character and inability of its governors;
weakened too by the collision of factions, which
keep up an exertion of strength among a free
people in times of peace, but which destroy their
power in times of war: the nation, disgraced, af-
tonished, and uncertain what measures to pursue;
equally sensible of the distresses it had already been
exposed

BOOK exposed to, as of those it foresaw, was incapable
X. of exerting itself to avenge the one, or prevent
the other. All zeal for the common cause was
confined to the granting of immense supplies.
That the coward is sooner disposed to part with
his money than the brave man in order to ward
off the danger, and that the present critical si-
tuation of affairs required them not to consider
who should pay, but who should stand forward to
fight; these were truths, which at that time seemed
to have been forgotten.

THE French, on their part, were dazzled with
some instances of success that were of no conse-
quence. Presuming, that the surprise their ene-
mies had been thrown into, was a proof of their
weakness, they involved themselves further than
was consistent with their interest, in the disturb-
ances that then began to divide the German
powers.

A SYSTEM, which if unsuccessful, must have
been attended with the greatest disgrace, and if
fortunate, must have been destructive in the end,
served to confound them. Their levity made them
forget, that a few months before, they had ap-
plauded the wise and enlightened statesman, who
being desirous to avoid a land war, which some
ministers were willing to enter into from their
despairing of success at sea, had, with the vivacity
and confidence peculiar to genius, addressed him-
self to them in the following words: *Gentlemen,*
said he, let us all, who are here present in council;

*go out with torches in our bands, and set fire to all book
our ships; if they are useless to our defence, and are
only conducive to make our enemies insult us.* This
political infatuation threw them into the greatest
difficulties. Errors of the cabinet were followed
by military faults. The management of the army
was subjected to the intrigues of the court. A
series of bad success was the consequence of a per-
petual change of commanders. This light and
superficial nation did not perceive, that even sup-
posing, what indeed was impossible, that all those
who were successively intrusted with the direction
of the military operations, had really been men of
abilities, yet they could not contend with advan-
tage against a man of genius, assisted by one of
distinguished capacity. Misfortunes made no al-
teration in the plan that had been formed, and the
changes of generals was endless.

WHILE the French were thus deceived, the English, from a spirit of dejection, were inflamed with the utmost resentment: they changed a minister who had justly excited general dissatisfaction, and placed at the head of affairs a man who was equally an enemy to timid measures, to the royal prerogative, and to France. Though this choice was the consequence of that spirit of party which causes the greatest revolutions in England, yet it was such as the circumstances of the time re-
quired. William Pitt, a favourite from his youth in the three kingdoms, on account of his integrity and disinterestedness, his zeal against corruption,

BOOK and his inviolable attachment to the interest of the public, had a soul formed for great designs; was distinguished by a species of eloquence that never failed to captivate the minds of his hearers, and by a character equally firm and enterprising. He was ambitious to make his country rise superior to all others, and at the same time to raise his own fame. His enthusiasm fired a nation, which will always be inspired by a love of liberty. The admiral who had suffered Minorca to be taken, was arrested, thrown into prison, accused, tried, and sentenced to death. Neither his rank, abilities, family or friends, could protect him from the rigour of the law. His own ship was fixed upon as the spot where the sentence passed upon him was to be put in execution. All Europe, at the news of this melancholy event, was struck with astonishment, blended with admiration and horror. It recalled the memory of the ancient republics. The death of Byng, whether he was guilty or not, proclaimed in the most alarming manner to those who were employed by the nation, what fate they must expect, if they betrayed the confidence reposed in them. Every man said within himself in the instant of battle: It is on this field I must die, rather than with infamy on a scaffold. Thus the blood of one man, accused of cowardice, was productive of a spirit of heroism.

THIS system of holding out an example of terror to subdue the impressions of fear, was further strengthened by an emulation, that seemed to promise

promise the revival of public spirit. Dissipation, book pleasure, indolence, and often vice and a corruption of manners, occasion warm and frequent connections in most kingdoms of Europe. The English have less intercourse and connection with each other ; they have, perhaps, less taste for social life than other nations ; but the idea of any project that may be serviceable to the state, immediately unites them, and they seem, as it were, animated by one soul. All ranks, parties, and sects, contribute to insure its success, and with such liberality as cannot be paralleled in those places where the notion of a particular native country does not prevail. This zeal is more remarkably distinguished when the nation has placed an implicit confidence in the minister who has the direction of public measures. As soon as Mr. Pitt was made prime minister, a marine society was established, which perceiving that there appeared a remissness in general to enter into the sea service, and disapproving the custom of pressing men into it, invited the children of the poorest class in the three kingdoms, to become ship boys, and their fathers sailors. They undertook to pay the expences of their voyage ; to take care of them in sickness ; to feed, clothe, and furnish them with every thing necessary to preserve their health during the time they were to be at sea. The king, struck with this instance of patriotism, gave them 22,500 livres * ; the prince of Wales 9000 livres †, and

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the

* 984l. 7s. 6d.

† 393l. 15s.

BOOK the princeſ of Wales 4500*. The actors of the different theatres, whose abilities have not been treated with contempt by this enlightened nation, acted their best plays for the increase of so respectable an establishment. The theatres were never so much crowded as on this occasion. A hundred of these ship boys, and a hundred of the sailors, clothed from a zeal that may truly be held sacred, appeared upon the stage; a decoration this surely not inferior to that arising from the multitude of lights, the elegance of dress, and the brilliancy of jewels.

^{The Eng-} ^{lish are} ^{roused} ^{from their} ^{lethargy,} ^{and seize} ^{the French} ^{and Spa-} ^{nish i-} ^{lands.} THIS public zeal and attachment to the interests of the nation, animated the minds of all the English, and the effects of it were displayed in the difference of their conduct. They ravaged the coasts of their enemies; beat them every where by sea; intercepted their navigation, and gave a check to all their forces in Westphalia. They drove them out of North-America, Africa, and the East-Indies. Till Mr. Pitt became minister, all the expeditions of the nation, made in distant countries, had been unsuccessful, and must necessarily have been so, because they had been ill-concerted. He, on the contrary, planned such prudent and useful designs; his preparations were conducted with so much foresight and dispatch; his means were so well adapted to the ends he wanted to obtain; he made such a prudent choice of the persons whom he intrusted with his de-

signs;

signs ; he established such harmony between the ~~BOOK~~
land and sea forces, and raised the spirits of the ~~x.~~
English to such a height, that his whole adminis-
tration was a series of conquests. His mind, still
superior to this glory, made him despise the idle
clamours of those who censured his profusions.
He used to say with Philip, father of Alexander
the Great, *That victory was to be purchased by mo-
ney, and that money must not be spared at the expence
of victory.*

By such a conduct, and such principles, Mr. Pitt had at all times and in all places triumphed over the French. He pursued them to their most valuable islands, even to their sugar plantations. These possessions, so justly prized for their riches, were not, however, better secured. The fortifications that were erected there, were constructed without judgment, and were in a ruinous state. Ever since the beginning of hostilities, all intercourse between these great settlements and the mother country, had been at an end. They could neither receive subsistence from it, nor enrich it with their productions. The buildings necessary for the carrying on of agriculture, were a heap of ruins. The masters and the slaves, equally destitute of the necessaries of life, were obliged to feed upon the cattle destined for the works of husbandry. If any rapacious navigators ever reached them, it was through so many dangers, that the colonists were obliged to pay for what they bought of these traders at a very advanced price, and to

BOOK give them in exchange whatever they chose to take
x, from them at the lowest. Though the colonists did not call in the aid of any foreign power to their assistance, yet it was not to be expected, that their attachments to their mother country, would induce them to make a vigorous defence against an enemy that might put an end to their distresses.

IN this situation of affairs, ten ships of the line, some bomb-ketches, and frigates, with five thousand land forces, sailed from England, and arrived at Gaudalope. They appeared before the town on the 22d of January, 1759, and the next day bombarded the town of Basse-Terre. If the besiegers had known how to take advantage of the terror they had spread, the island would have made a very short resistance: but the slowness, timidity, and irresolution of their operations, afforded the garrison and the inhabitants leisure to fortify themselves in a pass that was at the distance of two leagues from the place. From this spot they stopped the progress of the enemy, who were equally distressed from the heat of the climate and the want of provisions. The English, despairing of making themselves masters of the colony on this side, proceeded to attack it in another quarter, known by the name of Grande-Terre. It was defended by a fort called Fort Lewis, which made still less resistance than that of Basse-Terre, that had surrendered in four and twenty hours. The conquerors were again guilty of the error

they

they had before fallen into, and suffered the same ~~BOOK~~ inconveniences from it. The event of the expedition began to be doubtful, when Barrington, who succeeded to the command at the death of Hopson, changed the plan of operations. He gave up the idea of penetrating into the country, and re-imbarked his soldiers, who successively attacked the houses and villages upon the coasts. The ravages they committed, obliged the colonies to submit. The whole island, after three months defence, surrendered on the 21st day of April, up on very honourable terms of capitulation.

The troops that had obtained this victory did not engage in this expedition, till they had ineffectually threatened Martinico. Three years after, Great Britain revived a design that had been too hastily given up, but greater preparations and more effectual means were employed to carry it into execution. On the 16th of January 1762, eighteen battalions, under the command of general Monckton, and eighteen ships of the line commanded by admiral Rodney, the first sent from North America, and the latter from Europe, appeared before the capital of the island. The landing of the troops the next day was soon effected, without difficulty and without loss. To take possession of the eminences that were fortified and defended by Fort Royal, seemed to be a matter not so easily accomplished. These obstacles, however, were after some warm engagements surmounted, and the place that would soon have been

BOOK reduced to ashes by the bombs, capitulated on
x. the 9th of February ; and the whole colony did
the same on the 13th. It is probable that the
prosperity of Guadalupe under the British go-
vernment, contributed to bring about this gene-
ral surrender; which might and ought to have
been delayed longer. Granada and the other
Leeward islands, whether subject to France, or
which though peopled by Frenchmen, were neu-
tral, surrendered themselves, without making any
resistance.

EVEN St. Domingo, the only possession the
French still retained in the Archipelago of Amer-
ica was likely to fall into the hands of the Eng-
lish ; and its loss seemed to be not far distant. If
it had not even been known that this was the first
conquest Great-Britain would attempt, yet it could
not be supposed that it would escape its avidity.
Would this ambitious nation have checked the ca-
reer of its own successes so far as to give up all
thoughts of a conquest that would have com-
pleted its prosperity ? This was a point that seem-
ed not to admit of a doubt. The colony was ge-
nerally known to be entirely without any means of
defence, either within or without, and therefore inca-
pable of making the least resistance. It was so sensible
of its weakness, that it seemed disposed to sur-
render as soon as it should be summoned to do it.

THE court of France was equally astonished and
alarmed at the losses it had sustained, and at
those it foresaw. It had expected such an obsti-
nate

giate resistance as would have been superior to every attack. The descendants of those brave adventurers, who had settled these colonies, seemed a rampart sufficient to repel all the forces of the British empire. They almost felt a secret satisfaction that the English were directing their efforts towards that quarter. The ministry had inspired the nation with the same confidence that possessed them, and it was the mark of a bad citizen to shew the least uneasiness.

IT is an observation, we may now be permitted to make, that events, which have once happened, will happen again. A people whose whole fortune consists in fields and pastures will, if influenced by any degree of spirit, resolutely defend their possessions. The harvest of one year is the utmost they can lose, and whatever calamity they may experience, does not distress them to such a degree as to leave them without hopes of recovery. The case is very different with regard to the wealthy cultivators of these colonies. Whenever they take up arms, they run the risque of having the labours of their whole lives destroyed, their slaves carried off, and all the hopes of their posterity either lost by fire or plunder: they will therefore, always submit to the enemy. Though satisfied with the government under which they live, they are less attached to its glory than to their own riches.

THE example of the first colonists, whose perseverance could not be shaken by the most vigorous attacks,

BOOK attacks, does not affect the truth of this observation. The object of the war was then the acquisition of territory, and the expulsion of the inhabitants; at present, a war waged against a colony, is directed only against the sovereign of it.

THE plan of attacking Martinico was laid by Mr. Pitt; though he was not in the ministry when it was subdued. The resignation of this great man drew the attention of Europe, and deserves to be considered by every one, who investigates the causes and effects of political revolutions. An historian, who ventures to write the transactions of his own age, hath seldom, it must be granted, sufficient lights to guide him. The councils of kings are so secret, that time alone can gradually withdraw the veil that surrounds them. Their ministers, faithful depositaries of the secrets they have been intrusted with, or interested to conceal them, explain themselves no further than is sufficient to mislead the curious inquirer, who wishes to discover them. Whatever penetration he may possess, in tracing the source and connection of events, he is at last reduced to conjecture. If his conjectures happen to be just, still he is ignorant that they are so, or cannot depend upon them; and this uncertainty is scarcely more satisfactory than a total ignorance. He must, therefore, wait till prudence and interest, freed from the restraint of silence, shall unfold the truth; in a word, till some valuable and original records be produced for public inspection, wherin the latent springs

on which the destiny of nations has depended, BOOK
shall be discovered.

X.

THESE reflections should suspend the inquiries of the man who wants only to attend to the progress of political intrigues. But we are desirous of penetrating into the soul of one of the greatest men of his age, and, perhaps, we can never do it with greater propriety. The most conspicuous actions only of a man's life are transmitted to posterity, which will, therefore, be deprived of a variety of simple and artless details, that enlighten the mind of an observer, who lived at the time they happened.

MR. PITT, after having rescued England from the kind of disgrace it had been exposed to in the beginning of the war, arrived to a height of success that astonished all the world. Whether he foresaw this, or not, he did not seem to be embarrassed with it, and resolved to carry it as far as he could. The moderation which so many statesmen had affected before him, seemed to him to be only a pretence to conceal their weakness or their indolence. He thought that all states should exert their power to the utmost, and that there was no instance of one nation being able to become superior to another and not effecting it. The parallel that he drew between England and France confirmed him in his opinion. He perceived with uneasiness that the power of England founded upon a trade, which she might and would lose, was very inconsiderable, when compared with that of

BOOK of her rival; which nature, art, and particular
x. circumstances had raised to such a degree of
strength, under favourable administrations, as had
made all Europe tremble. Sensible of this truth,
he, therefore, determined to deprive France of
her colonies, and by confining her to the conti-
nent, diminish her importance, and reduce her to
the standard of other nations.

THE means necessary to complete this project
which was so far advanced, appeared to him ab-
solutely certain. While the imagination of weak
minds took shadows for realities, the greatest dif-
ficulties appeared trivial to him. Though the
nation, of which he was the idol, was sometimes
alarmed at his vast and uncommon enterprises, he
was not in the least disquieted about them; be-
cause, in his eyes, the multitude was like a tor-
rent, whose course he knew how to direct which
way he would.

PERFECTLY indifferent with regard to fortune, he
was still more so with regard to power. His suc-
cesses had made his administration absolute. With
the people he was a republican, with the nobles
and the sovereign he was a despotic minister. To
think differently from him was a mark of being
an enemy to the common cause.

He availed himself of the superiority he had
gained, in order to excite the ardour of the peo-
ple. Little influenced by that species of philoso-
phy, which, divesting itself of the prejudices of
national glory, to extend its views to the welfare of
all

all mankind, tries every thing by the principles of ~~BOOKE~~
universal reason; he kept up a violent and savage
spirit of enthusiasm, which he called, and, per-
haps, believed, to be a love of his country; but
which was, in reality, nothing more than a strong
aversion for the nation he wanted to oppress.

FRANCE was as much discouraged by this spirit
of inveteracy, that constantly pursued her, as by
the distresses she had undergone. The diminu-
tion, the exhausted state, or, to say the truth, the
total ruin of her naval powers, afforded her a dis-
couraging prospect for the future. The expecta-
tion that a fortunate success by land might occa-
sion a change in the face of affairs, was merely
imaginary. If one of their squadrons had destroy-
ed one or several of those of her rival, the Eng-
lish would not have renounced any of their claims.
This is one general rule; and another is, that
whenever any power has acquired a very deter-
mined superiority at sea, it can never lose it in the
course of the war; more particularly, if that supe-
riority can be traced from a distant cause, and
especially if it proceeds partly from the character
of the nation. The superiority of one continent
above another depends entirely on the abilities of
a single man, and may be lost in a moment: on
the contrary, superiority at sea, as it results from
the vigilance and interest of each individual in the
state, must always increase, particularly, when it
is encouraged by national constitution: a sudden
invasion can only put a stop to it.

BOOK Nothing but a general confederacy could have restored the balance of power; the impossibility of which Mr. Pitt plainly saw. He knew the restraints by which Holland was confined, the poverty of Sweden and Denmark, the inexperience of the Russians, and the little regard that several of these powers paid to the interests of France. He was conscious also of the terror which the English forces had spread among them all, the mistrust they entertained of each other, and the apprehension that each of them must have, that they should be distressed before they could receive assistance.

THE affairs of Spain were particularly circumstanced. The ravages that laid waste the French colonies, and which every day increased, might easily extend to the settlements of the Spaniards. Whether this kingdom was not, or would not be sensible of the danger that threatened it, its usual indolence accompanied it with regard to these great objects. At length, upon a change of minister, a new system took place. Don Carlos endeavoured to extinguish the flame; but it was too late. His overtures were received with a contemptuous haughtiness. Mr. Pitt, having deliberately considered the extent of his power, answered every proposition that was made, in the following manner: *I will listen to them, said he, when you have taken the Tower of London sword in hand.* This mode of expression might disgust, but it was imposing.

SUCH was the situation of affairs, when the court of France thought herself obliged to make over-

overtures of peace to that of Great-Britain. Both ~~BOOK~~
courts were equally apprehensive, and with good
reason, that Mr. Pitt would oppose them. He
consented to enter into a negociation ; but the
event shewed, as sensible politicians had conjectured,
that his intention was not to continue it.
His design was only to furnish himself with suffi-
cient proofs of the engagements that the two
branches of the house of Bourbon had entered into
against Great-Britain, and to lay them before his
country. As soon as he had gained this intelli-
gence, he broke off the negociation, and proposed
declaring war against Spain. The superiority of
the naval power of England above that of both
these kingdoms, and the assurance he had that
it would be infinitely better directed, inspired him
with this confidence.

Mr. Pitt's system appeared to distinguished politi-
cians, the only important, and indeed, the only
reasonable one. The English nation had contract-
ed such a load of debt, that it could neither free
itself from it, nor support it, without opening to
itself new sources of opulence. Europe, tired
out with the grievances Great-Britain had made
her submit to, waited impatiently for an opportu-
nity to disable her oppressor from continuing them.
The house of Bourbon could not but preserve a
strong resentment for the injuries it had suffered,
and for the losses it had sustained ; it could not
but make secret preparations, and gradually work
up a spirit of revenge to which a combination of
all

BOOK all its forces might insure success. These motives obliged Great-Britain, though a commercial power, to aggrandize itself for its support. This cruel necessity was not so sensibly felt by the council of George the third as Mr. Pitt desired. Moderation appeared to him a work of weakness or of infatuation, perhaps, of treachery; and he resigned his post, because he was not allowed to be the declared enemy of Spain.

MAY we venture to form a conjecture? The English ministry plainly saw that there was no possibility of avoiding a fresh war; but equally tired out and disgraced by the power Mr. Pitt had assumed, they were desirous of restoring that spirit of equality which is the spring of a republican government. Despairing of being able to raise themselves upon a level with a man so highly esteemed, or of making him stoop to them, they united their forces to effect his ruin. As open attacks would only have turned against themselves, they had recourse to more artful methods. They attempted to sour his temper; the natural fire of his character laid him open to such a snare, and he fell into it. If Mr. Pitt resigned his post through peevishness, he deserves to be censured for not having suppressed or mastered it. If he hoped by this expedient to humble his enemies, he shewed he had greater knowledge of affairs than of men. If, as he asserted, he resigned, because he would no longer be responsible for the measures he did not guide, we may be allowed to think that he was more strongly

strongly attached to his own personal glory, than ~~BOOK~~
to the interests of his country. But whatever may
have been the cause of his resignation, nothing but
the blindest, most unjust, and most violent par-
tiality can venture to assert, that his virtues and
abilities were merely the effect of chance.

BUT however this may be, the first step the new ministry took was conformable to the principles of Mr. Pitt; and this was a kind of homage they were compelled to pay him. It was thought necessary to declare war against Spain, and the West Indies were to be the scene of these new hostilities. Experience had already discouraged them from making any attempts on the continent of America, and all their views were turned towards Cuba. Men of sense and understanding perceived that the taking of this island would not be attended with any apprehension of vengeance from the other colonies, that the empire of the gulph of Mexico would be secured; that the enemy, whose riches arose principally from the amount of its customs, would be deprived of all their resources; that the whole commerce of the continent woold be seized upon; and the inhabitants would chuse rather to deliver up their riches to the conqueror of their country, than to give up those commodities they had been used to receive from Europe; In a word; that the power of Spain would be so reduced by this considerable loss, that it would be obliged to submit to any terms.

BOOK AGREABLE to this idea, a fleet, consisting of

X. nineteen ships of the line, eighteen frigates, and about a hundred and fifty transports, with 10,000 troops on board, which were to be joined by 4000 more from North-America, set sail for the Havanah. To arrive at this formidable place, it was determined to pass through the old strait of Bahama, not so long in extent, though more dangerous than the new one. The obstacles that were to be expected in this passage little known, and too little attended to, were successfully surmounted in a manner worthy the reputation that admiral Pocock had acquired. On the 6th of July he arrived at the place of his destination; and the landing of the troops was effected without any opposition, at the distance of six leagues eastward of those dreadful fortifications that were to be taken.

THE operations by land, were not so well conducted as those by sea. If Albemarle, who had the command of the army, had been a man of abilities, equal to the commission he was intrusted with, he would have begun his attack by the city. The single dry wall that covered it, could not have held out four and twenty hours. It is probable, that the generals, the council, and the regency, who must infallibly have fallen into his hands by this success which might so easily have been obtained, would have resolved to capitulate for the Moro. At all events, he would ~~thps, hope~~ prevented the fort from receiving any assistance or provisions that were supplied from the city during the

the siege, and have secured the most likely means **B O O K**
to reduce it, in a very short time. **X.**

THE plan he pursued of beginning his operations by the attack of the Moro, exposed him to great distresses. The water that was near him was unwholesome, and he found himself under a necessity of procuring some at three leagues distance from his camp. As the sloops that were sent for this purpose might be attacked, it was thought necessary to post a body of fifteen hundred men on the eminence of Arostigny, at a quarter of a league's distance from the town, in order to protect them. This body of troops entirely detached from the army, and which could not be withdrawn or supported but by sea, was perpetually in danger of being cut off.

ALBEMARLE, who might have judged of the disposition of the enemy from their not molesting the troops posted at Arostigny, should have placed another body of men upon the public road leading to the city. By this step he would have been able almost to surround it; he would most undoubtedly have distressed it by famine, prevented all removal of the effects into the country, and opened a less dangerous communication with Arostigny, than by the detachments he was constantly obliged to in order to support this advanced body of

Note. The siege of the Moro was carried on without opening the trenches. The soldiers advanced towards the ditch, and were covered only with bar-

BOOKrels of flints, which were, at length, exchanged
x. for sacks of cotton, that were taken out of some
' merchant ships arrived from Jamaica. This want
of foresight occasioned the loss of a great number
of men, always of great value, but more especially
ly so in a climate, where diseases and fatigues
cause so great a consumption of them.

THE English general, having lost a great part
of his army, and finding the necessity, for want
of troops, of reimbarking in a few days, deter-
mined to attempt storming the castle ; but a large
and deep ditch cut in the rock was first to be
passed, and no preparations had been made to fill
it up.

IF the faults of the English were very consider-
able, those of the Spaniards were still greater.
Though apprized above a month before that war
had commenced between the two nations, they
were not rouzed from their lethargy. The enemy
was already upon their coasts, and they had made
no provisions of balls of a proper size for their
cannons, nor of cartridges ; neither had they one
single gun, or even a firelock fit to make use of.

THE great number of officers of the land and
sea service who were at the Havannah, occasioned,
during some days of the siege, a great uncertainty
in the resolutions that could not but be favourable
to the besiegers.

THREE ships of war were sunk, to stop up the
entrance into the port, which the enemy could
not pass. The road into the harbour was by this
means

means damaged, and three great ships lost to no ~~book~~ purpose.

X.

THE most common prudence would have suggested that the twelve men of war that were at the Havannah should have been got ready to sail. They could not possibly be of any service in defending the place, and it was a matter of some consequence to save them. But this was neglected. Neither did the precaution occur of setting them on fire, although this was the only way left to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy.

THE destruction of the body of English troops posted at Arostigny, where they could not receive any assistance, might have been easily effected. This check would have put the besiegers to some difficulty in procuring water, would have deprived them of men, intimidated them, retarded their operations, and inspired the Spanish forces with some degree of confidence. But far from making so easy an attempt, they did not attack, even in the open part of the country, any of the English detachments, though composed entirely of infantry, and which might have been opposed by a regiment of dragoons and a great number of militia that were provided with horses.

THE communication of the city with the internal parts of the country was scarce ever interrupted, and yet none of those who had a share in the administration, ever thought of conveying the

BOOK royal treasure into the inland parts, to prevent its
x. falling into the hands of the enemy.

THE last instance of neglect served to complete the whole. In the middle of the ditch had been left a piece of a rock terminating in a point, and standing by itself. The English placed upon this a few tottering planks, which reached from the breach to the counterscarp. A serjeant, with fifteen men, passed over them at one in the afternoon; and concealed themselves among some stones that had fallen down. They were followed by a company of grenadiers and some soldiers. When they had collected about a hundred men, in the space of an hour they got upon the breach, under no apprehension of being discovered, and found no men placed there to defend it. Velasco, indeed, informed of what had happened, hastened to save the place; but he was killed in coming up, and his death putting the Spanish troops that followed him into confusion, they surrendered to a handful of men. The neglect of placing a sentinel to observe the motions of the enemy lodged upon the ditch, occasioned this event. A few days after, a capitulation was entered into, for the city, for all the places of the colony, and for the whole island. Independent of the great importance of this victory in itself, the conquerors found in the Havannah about forty-five millions* of silver, and other valuable effects, which fully indemnified

* 1,968,750l.

demnified them for the expences of the expedition.

X.

THE loss of Cuba, the center of the power of Spain in the new world, made peace as necessary to the court of Madrid, as it could possibly be to that of Versailles, whose distresses were now brought to the highest pitch. The English ministry, at that time, consented to a peace; but it seemed a matter of much difficulty to settle the conditions. The successes of Great Britain had been astonishing in North and South America. But, however ambitious she might be, she could not flatter herself with the hopes of retaining all the conquests she had made. It was reasonable to suppose that she would give up the possessions she had gained in North America, as the advantages she might expect from them were distant, inconsiderable and uncertain; and that she would be content with reserving to herself the sugar colonies she had lately acquired, which the state of her finances seemed more particularly to require. The increase of her customs, that was a necessary consequence of such a system, would have procured her the best sinking fund that could have been imagined, and which must have been so much the more agreeable to the nation, as it would have been obtained at the expence of the French. This advantage would have been attended with three others very considerable. It would, in the first place, have deprived a rival power, and formidable notwithstanding the faults it had committed, of

BOOK its richest branch of trade. Secondly, it would
x. have contributed to weaken it, from its being
under a necessity of defending Canada; a colony,
which, from the nature of its situation, must be
detrimental to a nation that had long neglected
its navy. Lastly, it would have kept New Eng-
land in a closer and more absolute dependence
on the mother country, a part of America that
would always want to be supported against a rest-
less, active and warlike neighbour.

BUT though the council of George the III^d
should have thought it necessary to restore to their
enemies a bad country of the continent, and to
reserve the valuable islands, yet they would not,
perhaps, have ventured to adopt so judicious a
measure. In other countries the faults of the
ministers are imputed only to themselves, or to
their kings, who punish them for their miscon-
duct. In England, the errors of administration
are generally the errors of the nation, who insist
upon obedience to their will, though guided by
caprice.

THE English, who have complained of the
terms of the last peace, when they have been
shewn how far short they fall of the advantages
they expected from them, had, however in some
measure, dictated those very terms themselves by
the tenor of their complaints, either previous to, or
during the war. The Canadians had committed
some outrages, and the savages many acts of cruelty
in the English colonies. The peaceable inhabi-
tants,

tants, terrified at the distresses they suffered, and more so at those they feared, had caused their clamours to be heard even in Europe. Their correspondents, interested to obtain them a speedy and powerful redress, had aggravated their complaints. Those writers, who eagerly lay hold of every circumstance, that can render the French odious, had loaded them with every species of invective. The people, exasperated by the report of the shocking scenes that were perpetually presented to its imagination, wished to see a stop put to these barbarities.

ON the other hand, the inhabitants of the sugar colonies, satisfied with the carrying on of their own commerce and gaining a part of that of their enemies, were very quiet. Far from wishing the conquest of their neighbours settlements, they rather dreaded it, considering it as destructive to themselves, though advantageous to the nation. The lands of the French are so much superior to those of the English, that no competition could possibly have taken place. Their allies were of the same opinion, and followed the example of their moderation.

THE consequence of so contrary a plan of conduct was, that the nation was extremely indifferent about the sugar colonies, but very anxious to acquire what they wanted in North America. The ministry, which, in England, can never support its authority against the people, or, at least, cannot long maintain itself successfully against its general

general odium, turned all their views to this object, and found France and Spain readily disposed to adopt such a system. The courts of Madrid and France gave up to the English all their former possessions, from the river of St. Lawrence up to the Mississippi. Besides this, France ceded the islands of Granada and Tobago, and consented that the English should keep the islands of St. Vincent and Dominica, that had been considered as neutral, provided that, on her part, she might appropriate St. Lucia to herself. On these conditions, the conquerors restored to the allied powers all the conquests they had made in America.

FROM this time England lost the opportunity, which, perhaps, may never return, of seizing all the avenues and making itself master of the sources of all the wealth of the new world. Mexico was in its power, as the English only were in possession of the gulph that opens the way to it. This valuable continent must, therefore, soon have become their property. It might have been allure^d, either by the offers of an easier government, or by the flattering hopes of liberty : the Spaniards might have been invited to shake off the yoke of the mother country, which only took up arms to distress its colonies, and not to protect them ; or the Indians might have been tempted to break the chains that enslaved them to an arbitrary government. The whole face of America might, perhaps, have been entirely changed, and the

more free and more equitable than ~~B O O K~~
other monarchical powers, could not but be bene-
fited by rescuing the human race from the op-
pressions they suffered in the new world, and by
removing the injuries this oppression has occasioned
to Europe in particular.

ALL those subjects, who are victims of the se-
verity, exactions, oppression and deceit of arbitrary
governments ; all those families that are ruined by
the raising of soldiers, by the ravages of armies,
by the loans for carrying on war, and by the in-
fractions of peace ; all men born to think and
live as men, instead of obeying and becoming
subject like brutes, would have gladly taken re-
fuge in those countries. These, as well as a mul-
titude of workmen, without employment ; of
husbandmen without land ; of men of science
without any occupation ; and numbers of distressed
and unfortunate persons, would have fled into
these regions, which require only just and civilized
inhabitants, to render them happy. Above all, the
peasants of the north, slaves to the nobility who
trample upon them, would certainly have been
invited there : those Russian peasants, who are
employed as executioners to torture the human
race, instead of cultivating and fertilizing the
earth. Numbers of them would certainly have
been lost in these transmigrations through extensive
seas, into new climates ; but this would have been
an infinitely less evil than that of a tyranny, work-
ing by slow and artful means, and sacrificing so
many

B O O K many people to the wills of a small number of
 x. men. In a word, the English would be much
 more gloriously employed in supporting and fa-
 vouring so happy a revolution, than in tormenting
 themselves in defence of a liberty, that excites the
 envy of all kings, and which they endeavour by
 every method to undermine and destroy.

THIS is a wish which, though founded on justice
 and humanity, is yet, alas! vain in itself, as it
 leaves nothing but regret in the mind of him that
 formed it. Must then the desires of the virtuous
 man for the prosperity of the world, be for ever
 lost, while those of the ambitious and extravagant
 are so often favoured by casual events?

SINCE war has been the cause of so much evil,
 why does it not run through every species of ca-
 lamity that it may, at length, tend to procure
 some good. But what has been the consequence
 of the last war, one of those that has been the
 most distressful to the human race? It has occa-
 sioned ravages in the four quarters of the globe;
 and has cost Europe alone above a million of its
 inhabitants. Those who were not its victims, are
 now distressed by it, and their posterity will long
 be oppressed under the weight of the enormous
 taxes it has given rise to. The nation, whom
 victory attended in all parts, still feels the wounds
 by which its triumphs were obtained. Its public
 debt, which, at the beginning of the war, did
 not exceed 1,617,087,060 livres *, arose, at the

con-

* 70,747,558l. 17s. 6d.

conclusion of the peace, to 3,330,000,000 livres*, B O O K
for which it must pay an interest of 111,577,490 x.
livres †.

BUT it is time to quit the subject of war. Let us now proceed to consider by what means the nations, who have divided the great Archipelago of America, that has been the origin of so many quarrels and negociations, and has given rise to so many reflections, have been able to raise it to a degree of opulence, that may, without exaggeration, be considered as the first cause of all the great events that at present disturb the peace of the globe.

* 145,687,500l. † 4,881,515l. 3s. 9d. .

END OF THE TENTH BOOK.

B O O K

BOOK XI.

The Europeans go into Africa to purchase slaves to cultivate the Caribbee islands. The manner of conducting this species of commerce. Produce arising from the labour of the slaves.

BOOK XI. CERTAIN restless fugitives, the greatest part of whom had either been disgraced by the laws of their country, or ruined by their excesses; in this state of desperation, formed a design of attacking Spanish or Portuguese ships that were richly laden with the spoils of the new world. Some desert islands, whose situation insured success to these piracies, served at first for a place of rendezvous to these robbers, and soon became their country. Habituated to murder, they meditated the massacre of a plain and unsuspecting people, who had received and treated them with humanity; and the civilized nations, of which these Buccaneers were the refuse, adopted this infamous scheme without

without hesitation ; which was immediately put in ~~BOOK~~ execution. It then became necessary to consider what advantages might accrue from so many enormities. Gold and silver, which were still looked upon as the sole valuable productions to be derived from America, had either never existed in several of these new acquisitions, or were no longer to be found there in sufficient quantities to expect any considerable emoluments from working the mines. Certain speculative men, less blinded by their prejudices than the multitude generally are, imagined, that a soil and climate, so totally different from ours, might either furnish us with commodities to which we were strangers, or which we were obliged to purchase at an exorbitant price : they, therefore, determined to apply themselves to the culture of them. There were some obstacles, apparently insurmountable to the execution of this plan. The ancient inhabitants of the country were now entirely destroyed, and had they not been so, the weakness of their constitutions, their habit of ease and indolence, and their invincible aversion from labour, would scarcely have rendered them fit instruments to execute the designs of their oppressors. These barbarians too, born in a temperate clime, could not support laborious works of agriculture under a burning and unwholesome sky. Self-interest, ever fruitful in expedients, devised the plan of seeking cultivators in Africa, a country in which the abominable and inhuman custom of selling its inhabitants hath ever prevailed.

BOOK AFRICA is an immense region, connected to Asia only by a narrow neck of land of twenty leagues, called the isthmus of Suez. This natural and political boundary, must sooner or later be broken down by the ocean, from that tendency it is observed to have of forming gulfs and straits eastward. This great peninsula, cut by the equator into two unequal parts, forms an irregular triangle, one of whose sides fronts the east, the other the north, and the third the west.

Opinions concerning the eastern coast of Africa. THE eastern side, which extends from Suez as far as the Cape of Good Hope, is washed by the Red Sea and the ocean. The interior parts of the country are but little known, and what has been discovered of them, can neither excite the mercenary views of the trader, the curiosity of the traveller, nor the humanity of the philosopher. Even the missionaries, after having made some progress in these countries, especially in Abyssinia, totally discouraged by the treatment they met with, have abandoned these people to their inconstancy and perfidy. The coasts are in general only dreadful rocks, or a waste of dry and burning sand. Those portions, which are fit for cultivation, are parcelled out among the natives of the country, the Arabs, the Portuguese and the Dutch. Their commerce, which consists only in a little ivory or gold, and some slaves, is connected with that of the East-Indies.

Opinions concerning the northern coast of Africa. THE northern side, which extends from the isthmus of Suez to the straits of Gibraltar, is bounded

bounded by the Mediterranean. On this side, book nine hundred leagues of coast are occupied by Egypt, and by the country, which has for several centuries been known by the name of Barbary.

Egypt, which was the nursery of arts and sciences, of commerce and government, offers nothing that can recall to the remembrance of the learned the idea of its former greatness. Bending under the yoke of despotism, which the ignorance and superstition of the Turks have imposed on her, the sole intercourse she seems to have with foreign nations by the ports of Damietta and of Alexandria, serves only to render them witnesses of her total declension and ruin.

THE fate of ancient Lybia, now Barbary, is no less wonderful. The early periods of this extensive country are involved in the greatest obscurity; nor was any light thrown upon their history till the arrival of the Carthaginians. These merchants, originally of Phœnician extraction, about a hundred and thirty-seven years before the foundation of Rome, built a city, whose territory, at first, very limited, in process of time, extended to all that country, known by the name of the kingdom of Tunis, and afterwards much further. Spain, and the greatest part of the islands in the Mediterranean fell under its dominion. Many other kingdoms must apparently have served to aggrandize this enormous power, when her ambitious views interfered with those of Rome. At the time of this dreadful collision, a war between

BOOK these two nations was instantly kindled, and carried
XI. on with such obstinacy and fury, that it was easy
to foresee it would not terminate, but in the utter
destruction of the one or the other. Rome, which
was now in the height of its republican and
patriotic principles, after many stubborn engage-
ments in which the greatest military skill was dis-
played, obtained a decisive superiority over that
which was corrupted by its riches. The commer-
cial people became the slaves of the warlike
power.

THE conquerors maintained themselves in the
possession of their conquests, till about the middle
of the Vth century. The Vandals, then hurried
on by their original impetuosity beyond the limits
of Spain, of which they were masters, passed the
pillars of Hercules, and, like an inundation, dif-
fused themselves over the country of Lybia. These
barbarians would certainly have preserved the ad-
vantages they had acquired by their irruptions, if
they had kept up that military spirit which their king
Genseric had inspired them with. But with this
barbarian, who was not destitute of genius, this
spirit became extinct; military discipline was re-
laxed, and the government which rested only on
this basis, was overthrown. Belisarius surprised
these people in this confusion, extirpated them,
and re-established the empire in its ancient
privileges. But this revolution was only momen-
tary. Great men, who can form and bring to ma-

turky

turity a rising nation, cannot impart youth and vi- B O O K
gour to an ancient and decayed people. XI.

IN the VIIth century, the Saracens, formidable in their institutions and their success, armed with the sword and with the coran, obliged the Romans, weakened by their divisions, to repass the seas, and augmented with the accession of the northern part of Africa, that vast dominion Mohammed had just founded with so much glory. The lieutenants of the Caliphs afterwards deprived their masters of these rich spoils, and erected the provinces intrusted to their care, and independent states.

SUCH was the slate of affairs at the beginning of the XVIth century, when the Mohammedans of Algiers, who were afraid of falling under the yoke of Spain, invited the Turks to their assistance. The Porte sent Barbarossa, who at first protected, but in the end enslaved them. The Bassas, who succeeded him, and were the governors of Tunis and Tripoli, cities that were both equally conquered and oppressed, exercised a tyranny, which very fortunately was carried to such a height, that from its excess it must necessarily terminate in its own destruction; and the same violent measures that supported it, were exerted in delivering the people from it. One circumstance, however, is worthy of observation, that the three states adopted the same kind of government, which is a species of aristocracy. The chief, who under the title of Dey, governs the republic, is elected by the soldiers,

BOOK who are always Turkish, and constitute the only nobility of the country. These elections are seldom made without bloodshed, and it is no unusual thing for a man, who has been elected in the midst of riot and slaughter, to be afterwards assassinated by a restless faction, who design either to secure that distinction for themselves, or to sell it for their advancement. The empire of Morocco, which has successively swallowed up the kingdoms of Fez, of Taflet, and of Sus, because it is hereditary in a national family, is, however, subjected to the same revolutions. The atrocious dispositions of the princes and the people are the primary cause of this instability.

The interior parts of Barbary are full of Arabs, who are what men in the primitive ages must have been, shepherds in a wandering and unsettled state. Customs, which are disgusting to our effeminate manners, are considered by them as great, or simple as nature by which they are dictated. When the most illustrious among the Arabians intend to receive a stranger with marks of distinction, they go themselves in search of the choicest lamb of their flocks, slay it with their own hands, and like the patriarchs of Moses, or the heroes of Homer, cut it in pieces, while their wives are occupied in the other preparations of the feast. The children of the most distinguished men among them, even of Scheiks and Emirs, tend the family flocks. The girls and boys have no other employment during their tender years.

THESE are not the happy manners of those who ~~book~~ live in towns or inhabit the sea shore. Equally XI.
averse from the toils of agriculture and from the more sedentary arts, they are become pirates. At first, they contented themselves with ravaging the vast and fertile plains of Spain. They surprised the indolent inhabitants of the rich countries of Valencia, Granada and Andalusia, while they were asleep, and carried them off for slaves. Afterwards, disdaining the booty they acquired from countries they had formerly cultivated, they built large vessels, and insulted the flags of all nations. These naval equipments, which were gradually improved into little squadrons, received an annual accession, by means of the avarice of great numbers of christians, who furnished the people of Barbary with materials for their armaments, who interested themselves in their cruises, and who sometimes even ventured to direct their operations. These pirates have reduced the greatest powers of Europe to the disgrace of making them annual presents, which, under whatever name they are disguised, are in reality a tribute. They have sometimes been punished and humbled; but their plunders have never been totally suppressed.

CHARLES the Vth, though always busy in exciting commotions during the age in which he lived, would sometimes penetrate into futurity, by that foresight which atones, in some degree, for the faults of a turbulent spirit, and saw what the people of Barbary might one day be-

BOOK come. Disdaining to enter into any kind of treaty
xi. with them, he formed the generous plan of de-
stroying them. The rivalry of Francis the 1st made his project miscarry ; and since his time his-
tory has had no opportunity of celebrating any
prince for resuming the idea of so glorious an en-
terprise, the execution of which would, however,
be attended with no great difficulty.

THE inhabitants of Barbary groan under a yoke
of which they are impatient. The tyrant of Mo-
rocco insolently sports with the liberties and lives
of his subjects. This despotic sovereign, an ex-
ecutioner in the strictest sense of the word, every
day exposes on the walls of his palace, or his ca-
pital, the heads of the innocent or the guilty
whom he has slaughtered with his own hand. Al-
giers, Tunis, and Tripoli, though exempt from
a like ferocity, are, however, under a severe sub-
jection. Slaves to fifteen or twenty thousand Turks,
who have been chosen out from among the dregs
of the Ottoman empire, they become in a variety
of ways the victims of this brutal soldiery. An
authority resting on so unsteady a basis, cannot
possibly be firmly established, and might be easily
subverted.

No foreign succour would retard its fall for a
moment. The only power that might be suspect-
ed of wishing its preservation, namely the Ot-
toman empire, is not so highly gratified with the
vain title of protector, which it confers on it, as
to interest itself warmly in their safety. All en-
deavours

deavours to excite the Turks to interfere, by sub-
missions, which particular circumstances might,
probably extort from these plunderers, would cer-
tainly be ineffectual. Their intreaties would not
impart strength. For these two centuries past,
the Porte has no navy, and its military power is
continually decaying.

BUT to what people is reserved the glory of
breaking those fetters which Africa is thus insensib-
ly preparing for us, and of removing those terrors,
which are so formidable to navigation? No nation
can attempt it alone; perhaps, if it did, the jea-
lousy of the rest would throw secret obstacles in
its way. This must, therefore, be the work of a
general combination. All the maritime powers
must concur in the execution of a design, in which
all are equally interested. These states, which
every thing invites to mutual alliance, to mutual
good-will, to mutual defence, ought to be weary
of the calamities which they reciprocally bring
upon each other. After having so frequently united
for their mutual destruction, let them at length
take up arms for their preservation. War for once,
at least, will then become useful and just.

ONE may venture to assert, that such a war
would be of no long continuance, if it were con-
ducted with skill and unanimity. Each member
of the confederacy, attacking at the same time the
enemy it had to reduce, would experience but a
weak resistance, or, perhaps, none. The people
of Barbary, being thus suddenly deprived of all

BOOK power of defending themselves, would undoubtedly abandon their governors, and relinquish the government by which they have been constantly oppressed. Perhaps this noblest and greatest of enterprises would cost Europe less blood and treasure, than the most trivial of those quarrels with which it is continually agitated.

No man would do the politicians who should form this plan the injustice to suppose, that they would confine their ambition to the filling up of roads, demolishing of forts, and ravaging of coasts. Such narrow notions would be inconsistent with the present improvements of reason. The countries subdued, would remain to the conquerors, and each of the allies would acquire possessions, proportionate to the assistance they had given to the common cause. These conquests would become so much the more secure, as the happiness of the vanquished would be the consequence of them. This race of pirates, these sea monsters, would be changed into men by salutary laws, and examples of humanity. The progress they would gradually make, by the knowledge we should impart to them, would in time dispel that fanaticism which ignorance and misery have kept up in their minds. They would ever recollect with gratitude the memorable æra which had brought us to their shores.

We should no longer see them leave a country uncultivated, which was formerly so fertile. Corn and various fruits would soon cover this immense tract

tract of land. These productions would be bar- ~~B O O K~~
tered for the works of our industry and of our ma- ~~x1.~~
nufactures. European traders settled in Africa,
would become the factors of this trade, which
would prove of mutual advantage to both coun-
tries. A communication so natural, between op-
posite coasts, and between people who have a ne-
cessary intercourse with each other, would, as it
were, extend the boundaries of the world. This
new kind of conquest which presents itself to us,
would amply compensate for those, which during
so many centuries, have contributed to the distress
of mankind.

THE jealousy of the great maritime powers,
who have obstinately rejected all expedients to re-
establish tranquillity on our seas, hath been the
chief impediment to so important a revolution.
The hope of checking the industry of every weak
state, hath accustomed them to wish, that these
piracies of Barbary should continue, and hath even
induced them to encourage these plunders. This
is an enormity, the ignominy of which they would
never have incurred, if their understanding had
equalled their mercenary views. All nations
would certainly profit from this happy change; but
the greatest advantages would infallibly redound to
the maritime states, in proportion to their power.
Their situation, the safety of their navigation,
the greatness of their capital, and various other
means, would secure them this superiority. They
are constantly complaining of the shackles which
national

BOOK national envy, the folly of restraints and prohibitions, and the confined idea of exclusive traffic, have imposed upon their activity. The people gradually become as much strangers to one another as they were in the barbarous ages. The void, which this want of communication necessarily occasions, would be filled up, if Africa were brought to have wants and resources to satisfy them. The spirit of commerce would have a new career opened to its exertion.

HOWEVER, if the reduction and subjection of Barbary would not become a source of happiness for them as well as for ourselves ; if we are resolved not to treat them as brethren ; if we wish not to consider them as our friends ; if we must keep up and perpetuate slavery and poverty amongst them ; if fanaticism can still renew those detestable crusades, which philosophy too late has consigned to the indignation of all ages ; if Africa must at length become the scene of our cruelties, as Asia and America have been, and still are ; may the project which humanity hath now dictated to us, for the good of our fellow-creatures, be buried in perpetual oblivion ! Let us remain in our ports. It is indifferent, whether they be Christians or Mussulmen who suffer. Man is the only object worthy to interest man.

Do we hope to accustom the Africans to commerce, by the slow and gentle expedients of treaties, which must often be renewed, when they are obliged to be purchased every time ? To be assured of

of the contrary, it is only necessary to take a transient view of the present state of the Europeans with regard to these people.

THE French have never trafficked with Morocco, but have always been in a state of war with it. The English, Dutch, and Swedes, disgusted by the repeated insults they have received, never appear there but occasionally. The whole commerce is almost entirely in the hands of Denmark, which hath committed the management of it to a company, formed upon a capital of five hundred shares of five hundred crowns each.* It was established in 1755, and it is to continue forty years. It imports English cloth, silver tissues, and silks: some linens, planks, iron, tar, and sulphur; and brings in exchange, copper, gums, wool, wax, and leather. These exchanges are made at Sally, Tetuan, Mongador, Safia, and Santa-Cruz. One may judge of the extent of this commerce by the profits of the customs farmed out, which they are for 255,000 livres †.

THE trade of Algiers is not so considerable. The English, French, and Jews of Leghorn, are rivals in it. The two first send in their own vessels, and the last under a neutral flag, cloth, spice, paper, hardware, coffee, sugar, linens, alum, indigo, and cochineal; and receive in exchange, wool, wax, feathers, leather, oil, and several goods arising from captures. The returns, though they amount to a fourth more than the out-goings, do not

* 65l. 12s. 6d.

† 11,156L 5s.

BOOK not annually exceed a million of livres.* France xi. has one-half, and her rivals nearly divide the rest.

— INDEPENDENT of this commerce, which is totally carried on by the capital, there is some traffic at Callua, Bona, and Collou; three other ports of the republic. This trade would have been extended and improved, if it had not been subjected to a monopoly and that too a foreign one. Ancient treaties, which have been generally observed, have yielded this vast coast to an exclusive company established at Marseilles. Its capital is twelve hundred thousand livres †, and its annual traffic in merchandise, which may amount to eight or nine hundred thousand ‡, employs thirty or forty ships. It purchases corn, wool, coral, and leather, with specie.

TUNIS may receive two millions § in foreign merchandise, and sells its own for two millions five hundred thousand livres ||. The French engross two thirds of this traffic, and the Tuscans the rest. This commerce is supported and carried on nearly in the same manner as every traffic in other states of Barbary.

THE trade carried on at Tripoli is the least considerable. The country is so wretched, that nothing can be imported thither but some hardware of little value. The exports of wool, senna, ashes, wax, and pulse, are scarce worth notice. But though this coast is of small advantage to commerce,

* 43,750l. † 52,500l. ‡ About 37,000l. on an average. § 87,400l. || 109,175l.

merce, by the little it can furnish; and though it ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~so~~ ^{so} ~~xi.~~
is detrimental to it by the piracies that are exer- ^{xi.}
cised there, the western coast of Africa fully com-
pensates these losses by the benefits it procutes to
the American colonies.

THE coast of this immense country extends <sup>Climate of
the western
coast of
Africa,
known by
the name
of the coast
of Guinea.</sup> from the straits of Gibraltar to the Cape of Good Hope. All its inhabitants are black. The cause of this singularity has been the subject of much inquiry, which hath given rise to a variety of systems. Some have absurdly supposed, that the negroes being the descendants of Cain, have had this mark of infamy stamped upon them, as a punishment for the fratricide of their ancestor. If it were so, it must be allowed, that his posterity have made a severe atonement for his crime; and that the descendants of the pacific Abel, have thoroughly avenged the blood of their innocent father.

BUT waving the discussion of such ridiculous fancies, let us inquire whether it is possible that the negroes shou'd derive their colour from the climate they inhabit? Some philosophers and eminent naturalists are of this opinion. There are no negroes, say they, but in the hottest countries. Their colour becomes darker, the nearer they approach to the equator. It becomes lighter or more bright at the extremities of the torrid zone. The whole human species in general contract whiteness from the snow, and grow tanned in the sun. Various shades may be observed from white to black, and from black to white, marked out as it

BOOK II. it were by the parallel degrees which cut the earth from the equator to the poles. If the zones, imagined by the inventors of the sphere, were represented by real bands, one might perceive the tawny colour of the natives insensibly decrease to the right and left as far as the two tropics; from thence the brown colour of the inhabitants grow paler and brighter to the polar circles, by shades of white, becoming more and more brilliant. But it is somewhat remarkable, that nature, which hath lavished the brightness of the most beautiful colours on the skin and plumage of animals, and on vegetables and metals, should, properly speaking, have left men without colour, since black and white are nothing but the beginning and absence of all colours.

WHATEVER be the original and radical cause of that variety of complexion in the human species, it is agreed, that this complexion is owing to a gelatinous substance that is lodged between the cuticle and the skin. This substance is blackish in negroes, brown in olive coloured or swarthy people, white in Europeans, and diversified with reddish spots in people who have extremely light or red hair.

ANATOMY hath discovered, that in negroes the substance of the brain is blackish, that the pineal gland is entirely black, and their blood is of a much deeper red than that of white people. Their skin is always hotter, and their pulse quicker. The passions, therefore, of fear and love, are carried

ried to excess among those people; and this is the B.O.O.K. reason why they are more effeminate, more indolent, more weak, and unhappily more fit for slavery. Besides, their intellectual faculties being nearly exhausted by the excesses of sensual pleasures, they have neither memory nor understanding to supply by art the deficiency of their strength. Their hair, it is said, is curled, because, having to penetrate through a net-work of a more dense and tenacious substance, it becomes twisted, and cannot be lengthened out. The sweat of the negroes diffuses a strong and disagreeable odour, because it is impregnated with that thick and rancid grease which hath been long lodged, and slowly oozes out between the cuticle and the skin. This substance is so palpable, that one may distinguish in it with a microscope a sediment formed in little blackish globules. Hence the perspiration of a negro, when it is copious, tinges the linnen cloth which wipes it off. One of the inconveniences of this black colour, an emblem of the night which confounds all objects, is, that the negroes have been obliged, in order to be known at a distance, to slash themselves, and mark their skins with different colours. This custom is general, especially among the wandering tribes of this people. As we find it, however, established among the savages of Tartary and Canada, it may be doubtful whether the practice does not rather arise from the roving way of life, than from the nature of their complexion.

BOOK Anatomy hath gone further, and discovered
xi. the origin of the blackness of negroes in the prin-
ciples of generation. Nothing more it should
seem would be necessary to prove, that negroes are
a particular species of men. For if any thing dis-
criminated the species, or the classes in each species,
it is certainly the difference of the sexes. The
colour of the negroes is, therefore, falsely sup-
posed to be owing to the climate, since in Africa,
under the same parallels, the eastern coast has no
negroes, and even produces white people; and
that in America the heat of the sun, and nature of
the soil have never produced any negroes.

THOUGH it should be allowed, that the western
coast of Africa is the hottest region of the whole
globe, the only inference to be deduced from this,
would be, that there are climates proper only to
certain species, or certain species adapted to parti-
cular climates; but not that the difference of cli-
mates would change the same species from white to
black. The sun has not the power of altering
and modifying the germina of reproduction. White
people never become black in Africa, nor negroes
white in America. An union, indeed, between
the sexes of these two species, produces the mestees,
who partake equally of the colour, features, and
complexion of both. If man were originally white,
it must be supposed, that having been created
neater to the frigid than to the torrid zone, he
peopled the earth successively from the poles to the
equator: while, on the contrary, the fertility of

the globe between the tropics, is a presumption, ~~BOOK~~
that it has been peopled from the equator to the ~~XI.~~
poles.

THE climate inhabited by the negroes, exhibits no palpable variations but such as may be occasioned by sands or morasses. The almost insupportable heat of their days, is succeeded by very cool and refreshing nights, with this difference only, that they are less so in the rainy seasons than in the times of drought. The dew, less profuse under a cloudy sky than under a serene horizon, is undoubtedly the cause of this singularity.

FROM the frontiers of the empire of Morocco, ^{Soil of} ~~Guinea,~~ as far as Senegal, the land is entirely barren. Some Arabs, the descendants of those who conquered Barbary, and some Moors, the ancient inhabitants of the country, lead a miserable wandering life amidst those burning and dry sands, which are finally lost in the vast solitudes of Sahara.

THE banks of the Niger, Gambia, and Sierra Leona, and those of some less considerable rivers, which, flow in that long space that intervenes between these principal rivers, exhibit proofs of the greatest fertility. Maize grows there without much cultivation, as well as all the fruits that are natural to America: and the care of flocks constitutes almost the sole employment of the inhabitants. They are fond of mare's milk, which is their principal nourishment, and travel but little; because they have no wants to induce them to leave their country.

BOOK XI. The inhabitants of Cape Monte environed on every side by sands, form a nation entirely separated from the rest of Africa. In the rice of their marshes consists all their nourishment and their sole riches. Of this they sell a small quantity to the Europeans, for which they receive in exchange brandy and hard-ware.

FROM the Cape of Palmas to the river Volta, the inhabitants are traders and husbandmen. They are husbandmen; because their land, though stony, abundantly requites the necessary labour and expence of clearing it. They are traders, because they have behind them nations which furnish them with gold, copper, ivory, and slaves; and because nothing obstructs a continued communication between the people of the country and those of the coast. It is the sole country in Africa, where, in a long space there are no deserts or deep rivers to obstruct the traveller, and where water and the means of subsistence may be found.

BETWEEN the river of Volta and that of Calbary, the coast is flat, fertile, populous and cultivated. The country which extends from Calbary to Gabon is very different. Almost totally covered with thick forests, producing little fruit and no corn, it may be said to be rather inhabited by wild beasts than by men. Though the rains are there very frequent and copious, as they must be under the Equator, the land is so sandy, that immediately after the showers are fallen, there remains not the least appearance of moisture.

To the south of the line, and as far as Zara, ~~BOOK~~ XI.
the coast presents an agreeable prospect. Low at its beginning, it gradually rises, and exhibits a scene of cultivated fields, intermixed with woods, always verdant, and of meadows covered with palm-trees.

FROM Zara to Coanza, and still further, the coast is in general high and craggy. In the interior parts of this country is an elevated plain, the soil of which is composed of a large, thick and fertile sand.

A little beyond Coanza a barren region intervenes, of above two hundred leagues in extent, which is terminated by the country of the Hottentots. In this long space, there are no inhabitants known except the Cimbebes, with whom no intercourse is kept up.

THE varieties, observable on the shores of the west of Africa, do not prevent them from enjoying a very extraordinary, and, perhaps, a singular advantage. On this immense coast, those tremendous rocks are no where seen, which are so alarming to the navigator. The sea is universally calm, the wind regular, and the anchorage secure. Several excellent havens are here to be met with, where the mariner unmolested may pursue the labours which the refitting of large ships require.

THE winds and currents, during six months of the year, from April to November, have nearly the same direction. To the south of the line, the

BOOK south-east wind predominates, and the direction of
 xi. the currents is towards the north; and to the north
 of the line, the east wind prevails, and the direc-
 tion of the currents is towards the north-east. Dur-
 ing the six other months, storms, by intervals,
 change the direction of the wind, but it no longer
 blows with the same violence: the spring of the
 air seems to be relaxed. The cause of this varia-
 tion appears to influence the direction of the cur-
 rents: to the north of the line, they tend to the
 south-west, beyond the line to the south.

Govern-
 ment, poli-
 cy, wars,
 religion,
 and man-
 ners of the
 coast of
 Guinea. VAGUE conjectures can only be formed with re-
 gard to every thing which respects the interior
 parts of Africa; but it is a fact well authenti-
 cated, that throughout the whole extent of the
 coast the government is arbitrary. Whether the
 despotic sovereign ascends the throne by right of
 birth, or by election, the people have no other
 law but his will.

BUT what will seem extraordinary to the inhab-
 itants of Europe, where the great number of her-
 editary monarchies obstructs the tranquillity of
 elective governments, and the prosperity of all free
 states, is, that in Africa, the countries which are
 least liable to revolutions, are those, which have
 preserved the right of electing their chiefs. This
 is usually an old man, whose wisdom is generally
 known. The manner, in which this choice is made,
 is very simple; but it is only suited to very small
 states. In three days the people, by mutual con-
 sent, meet at the house of that citizen who appears
 to

to them the most proper person to be their sovereign. If the suffrages are divided, he who has obtained the greatest number of them, names on the fourth day one of those who have had fewer voices than himself. Every freeman hath a right to vote. There are even some tribes where the women enjoy this privilege.

Such is, excepting the hereditary kingdoms of Benin and Juda, the manner in which that little group of states that are to the north of the line, is formed. To the south we meet with Mayumba and Cilingo, where chiefs are admitted among the ministers of religion; and with the empires of Loango and Congo, where the crown is perpetual in the male line, by the female side; that is, the eldest son of the king's eldest sister inherits the throne, when it becomes vacant. These people believe, that a child is much more certainly the son of his mother, than of the man whom she marries: they trust rather to the time of delivery which they see, than to that of conception, of which they are not witnesses.

THESE nations live in a total ignorance of that art so revered among us, under the name of politics. They do not, however, neglect to observe some of its formalities. The custom of sending embassies is familiar to them, whether to sollicit aid against a powerful enemy, or to request a mediator in their differences, or to congratulate others upon their successes, upon the birth of a child, or upon the falling of a shower after a great drought.

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BOOK XI. The envoy must never stay longer than a day at the place of his mission ; nor travel during the night in the states of a foreign prince. He is preceded by a drum, which announces from afar his dignity, and he is accompanied by five or six friends. In those places where he stops to refresh himself, he is received with respect ; but he cannot depart before the sun rises, and without the ceremony of his host assembling some persons to witness that no accident hath happened to him. In other respects, these people are strangers to any negotiations that are in the least complicated. They never enter into any stipulations for the past, nor for the future ; but confine themselves wholly to the present. Hence we may conclude, that these nations cannot have regular or settled connections with the other parts of the globe.

THEIR system of war is as little complicated as their politics. None of these governments retain troops in pay. Every freeman is by condition a soldier. All take up arms to guard their frontiers, or to make excursions in quest of booty. The officers are chosen by the soldiers, and the choice is confirmed by the prince. The army marches, and most frequently the hostilities, which are begun in the morning, are terminated in the evening. At least, the incursion never continues for any length of time ; for as they have no magazines, the want of subsistence obliges them to retire. It would prove a great misfortune to these people,

people, if they were acquainted with the art of B O O K
keeping the field fifteen days together. XI.

THE desire of extending their territories is not the cause of the disturbances which frequently throw these countries into confusion. An insult committed in a ceremony, a clandestine or violent robbery, the rape of a daughter; these are the ordinary occasions of a war. The day after the battle, each side redeems their respective prisoners. They are exchanged for merchandise, or for slaves. No portion of the territory is ever ceded, the whole belongs to the community, whose chief fixes the extent which every person is to cultivate, in order to reap the fruits of it.

THIS manner of terminating differences is not merely that of little states, whose chiefs are too wise to aspire after enlarging their dominions, and too much advanced in years not to be fond of peace. Great empires are obliged to conform to these principles with neighbours much weaker than themselves. The sovereign has never any standing army, and though he disposes at pleasure of the lives of the governors of his provinces, he prescribes them no rules of administration. These are petty princes, who for fear of being suspected of ambition and punished with death, live in concord with the elective colonies which surround them. Unanimity between the more considerable powers and the smaller states, is preserved as much by the great authority the prince hath over his subjects, as by the impossibility there

BOOK is of his exerting it as he pleases. He can only
xi. strike a single blow, or cause a single head to be
struck off. He may, indeed, command that his
lieutenant should be assassinated, and the whole
province will obey his orders; but were he to
command all the inhabitants of a province to be
put to death, he would find no one ready to exe-
cute his orders; nor would he be able to excite
any other province to take up arms against that
which disobeyed him. His power against individ-
uals is unlimited; but he can do very little against
the whole collective body.

ANOTHER reason which prevents the small states
from being enslaved by the great ones, is, that
these people annex no idea to the glory of con-
quests. The only person, who appears to have
been animated with it, was a slave broker, who,
from his infancy, had frequented the European
vessels, and who, in his riper years, had made a
voyage to Portugal. Every thing he saw and
heard, fired his imagination and taught him that a
great name was frequently acquired by being the
cause of great calamities. At his return into his
country, he felt himself greatly humiliated at be-
ing obliged to obey people less enlightened than
himself. His intrigues raised him to the dignity
of chief of the Acanis, and he prevailed on them
to take up arms against their neighbours. Nothing
could oppose his valour, and his dominion extend-
ed over more than an hundred leagues of coast, of
which Anamabou was the center. At his death

no one dared to succeed him : and all the supports o o k
of his authority failing at once, every thing re- xi.
turned to its former situation.

THE Christian and Mohammedan religion seem to have taken possession of the two extremities of that part of the west of Africa, which is frequented by the Europeans. The muzzelmen of Barbary have carried their religious system to the people of the Cape de Verd islands, who have extended it still further. In proportion as these religious opinions have been distant from their source, they have undergone so great an alteration, that each kingdom, each village, each family maintained a different system. Excepting circumcision, which is universal, it would scarcely be imagined that these people professed the same worship. This religion does not penetrate beyond the cape of Monta, whose inhabitants have no communication with their neighbours.

WHAT the Arabs had done to the north of the line for the Coran, the Portuguese afterwards did to the south for the Gospel. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, they established it from the country of Benguela to Zara. A mode of worship, which offered sure and easy means for the expiation of all crimes was perfectly agreeable to the taste of nations, whose religion did not afford them such comfortable prospects. If it was afterwards proscribed in several states it was owing to the excesses of those who propagated it, which drew upon it this disgrace. It hath even been totally

BOOK, usually disguised in the countries where it has been
X. preserved; a few trifling ceremonies are the only
remains of it.

The coasts which are in the center have pre-served some local superstitions, whose origin must be very ancient. They consist in the worship of that innumerable multitude of divinities or Fetiches, which every person makes after his own fancy and for his own use; in the belief auguries, trials by fire and boiling water, and in the power of Gris-Gris. There are some superstitions more dangerous; I mean that blind confidence which they repose in the priests who are the ministers and promoters of them; these are intrusted with the sacred deposit of the national traditions: and pretend to prophecy. The correspondence which they are supposed to hold with the evil spirit makes them considered as the arbiters of the barrenness and fertility of the country. On this account the first fruits are always offered to them. All their other errors have a social tendency, and conspire to render man more humane and peaceable.

The different religions which are spread through Africa, have not changed the manner of living; because the influence of the climate there is so predominant, that opinions have but little effect upon their manners. The houses are always built of the branches of the palm-tree, most commonly of earth and covered with straw, osiers, or reeds. Their furniture consists solely of baskets, earthen pots, mats which serve as beds, and cabalashes of which

which all their utensils are made. A girdle round ~~the body~~ the loins is their only apparel. They live on game, fish, fruit, rice, or on bread made of maize, ill-baked. Their drink is the wine of the Palm-tree. Arts are unknown amongst them. All their labours are confined to certain rustic employments. Scarce one hundredth part of their country is cultivated, and that in a very wretched manner, either by poor people, or by slaves, who, from their indolence and station, have the greatest aversion from labour.

THERE is a greater variety observable in their manners than in their wants. On the banks of the Niger, the women are generally handsome, if beauty consists in symmetry of proportion and not in colour. Modest, affable and faithful, an air of innocence appears in their looks and their language is an indication of their bashfulness. The names of Zilia, Calypso, Fanny, Zama, which seem to be names of pleasure, are pronounced with an inflection of voice, of the softness and sweetness of which our organs are not susceptible. The men are of a proper size, their skin is as black as ebony, and their features and countenances pleasing. The habit of taming horses and hunting wild beasts gives them an air of dignity. They do not easily put up with an affront, but the example of those animals they have reared, inspires them with boundless gratitude for a master who treats them with indulgence. It is impossible to find servants more attentive, more sober, and who have stronger attachments;

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300 it attachment; but they do not make good husband-men; because their body is not habituated to stoop and bend towards the ground, in order to clear it.'

The complexion of the Africans degenerates towards the east. The people of this climate are strong, but short. They have an air of strength, which is denoted by firm muscles; and the features of their faces are spread out, and have no expression. The figures impressed on their foreheads and on their cheeks increase their natural deformity. An ungrateful soil, which is not improveable by culture, has forced them to have recourse to fishing, though the sea, which they can scarce venture upon an account of a bar that runs along the coast, seems to divert them from it. Thus repulsed, as it were, by the elements, they have sought for aid among adjacent nations more favoured by nature; from whom they have derived their subsistence by selling them salt. A spirit of traffic hath been diffused among them since the arrival of the Europeans; because ideas are unfolded in all men in proportion to the variety of objects that are presented to them; and because more combinations are necessary to barter a slave for several sorts of merchandise, than to sell a bushel of salt. Besides, though they are well adapted to all employments where strength only is required, yet they are unfit for the internal duties of domestic life. This condition of life is repugnant to their customs, according to which they are

are paid separately for every thing they do. And, ~~BOOK~~ indeed, the reciprocation of daily labour and daily ~~XI.~~ recompence, perhaps, one of the best incentives to industry among all men. The wives of these mercantile negroes share all their labours except that of fishing. They have neither the amiableness, modesty, discretion nor beauty of the women of the Niger, and they appear to have less sensibility. In comparing the two nations it might perhaps, be imagined, that the one consists of the lowest class of people in a polished and civilized city, and that the other hath enjoyed the advantages of superior education. Their language is a strong indication of their character. The accents of the one have an extreme sweetness, those of the other, are harsh and dry like the soil they inhabit. Their vivacity, even in pleasures, resembles the furious transports of anger.

Beyond the river Volta, in Benin, and in the other countries, known under the general name of the Golden Coast, the people have a smooth skin, and of a dark black colour; their teeth are beautiful; they are of a middling stature, but well shaped, and have a bashful countenance. Their faces though agreeable enough would be much more so, if the women were not used to scar them, and the men to burn their foreheads. The basis of their creed is a metempsycosis of a peculiar kind: they believe, that in whatever place they remove to, or wherever they are transported, they shall return after their death, whether caused by the

book the laws of nature, or by their own hands, to their
xi. native country. This conviction constitutes their
happiness ; because they consider their country as
the most delightful abode in the universe. This
pleasing error conduces to humanize them. Fo-
reigners, who reside in this climate, are treated
with respectful civility, from a persuasion that they
are come there to receive the recompence due to
their conduct. This people have a disposition to
cheerfulness, not observable in the neighbouring
nations ; they are inclined to labour, have a ready
conception, a solidity of judgment, principles of
equity seldom altered by circumstances, and a
great facility of adapting themselves to foreign
manners. They are tenacious of their com-
mercial customs, even when they are not advantageous
to them. The method of trafficking with them
was, for a long time, the same that had been at first
practised among them. The first vessel that arriv-
ed disposed of its cargo before another was per-
mitted to trade. Each had its turn. The com-
modities were sold at the same fixed price to all.
It is but very lately that the nation hath resolved to
avail itself of the advantages it might derive from
the number of European nations frequenting its
ports.

The people situated between the Line and Zara,
have all a great resemblance to one another. They
are well made. Their bodies are less robust than
those of the inhabitants to the north of the equa-
tor ; and though there are some marks on their
faces,

faces, none of those scars are to be perceived ~~book~~ which are so shocking at first sight. Their food ~~XI.~~ is simple, and their life frugal. They love ease and never labour beyond their strength. Their feasts are accompanied with military sports, which revive the idea of our ancient tournaments; with this difference, that in Europe they constituted the exercises of a warlike nation, whereas in Africa they are the amusements of a timid people. The women are not admitted to these public diversions. Assembled together in certain houses they spend the day in private, and no men are ever admitted into their society. The pride of rank is the strongest passion of these people, who are naturally peaceable. A certain degree of ceremony obtains both at the court of princes and in private life. Upon the most trivial occurrences, they halten to their friends either to congratulate them or to condole with them. A marriage occasions visiting for three months. The funeral obsequies of a person of distinction continue sometimes two years. Those who were connected to him, in any degree, carry his remains through several provinces. The crowd gathers as they proceed, and no person departs, till the corpse is deposited in the tomb, with all the demonstrations of the deepest sorrow. So determined a taste for ceremony hath proved favourable to superstition, and superstition hath promoted a spirit of indolence. In these countries, the earth sufficiently fertile, without requiring much labour, is only cultivated

by

2000 by women, whom servitude or penury condemns to xi. this drudgery. Men slaves, or free men if poor, are employed in hunting and fishing, or are destined to augment the retinue of the great. There is in this nation in general less equality between the two sexes, than is found among their neighbours. Birth and rank here impart to some women the right of choosing a husband, whom they keep in the most extreme subjection. They have even the right, whenever they are dissatisfied with their choice, of condemning him to slavery; and it is to be imagined that they freely make use of this privilege, however humiliating it may be to the two sexes. For, what is that man, whom a woman can make her slave? He is good neither for her, nor for himself.

FROM Zara to the river of Coanza, the ancient customs still remain; but they are blended with a confused mixture of European manners, which are not to be found elsewhere. It is probable that the Portuguese, who have large settlements in this country, and who were desirous of introducing the christian religion among them, had a greater intercourse with them than they had with other nations, who having only factories to the north of the line, have been only employed in carrying on their commerce.

The reader need not be told, that all we have related concerning the people of Guinea, ought only to be applied to that class which, in all countries, stamps the character of a nation. The inferior

ferior orders and slaves are further removed from ~~book~~
this resemblance, in proportion as they are debased or degraded by their occupations or their conditions. The most discerning inquirers have, however, imagined that the difference of conditions did not produce in this people varieties so distinguishable as we find in the states which are situated between the Elbe and the Tiber, which are nearly of the same extent of country as the Niger and the Coanza. The further men depart from nature, the less must they resemble one another. The multiplicity of civil and political institutions necessarily occasions a difference in the moral character and in the natural customs of men, which is unknown to societies less complicated. Besides, nature being more powerful under the torrid than under the temperate zone, does not permit the influence of manners to exert itself so strongly. Men in these countries bear a greater similitude to one another, because they owe every thing to nature, and very little to art. In Europe, an extensive and diversified commerce, varying and multiplying the enjoyments, the fortunes and several conditions of men, adds likewise to the differences which the climate, the laws and the common prejudices have established among active and laborious nations.

IN Guinea, trade has never been able to cause a material alteration in the manners of its inhabitants. It formerly consisted of certain exchanges of salt and dried fish, which were consumed by

BOOK the nations remote from the coast. These gave
xi. in return stuffs made of a kind of thread, which
was only a woody substance, closely adhering to
the inner side of the bark of a particular tree in
these climates. The air hardens it, and renders
it fit for every kind of weaving. Bonnets, scarfs,
and aprons to serve for girdles, are made of it,
which vary in shape according to the particular
mode of each nation. The natural colour of the
thread is a pale grey. The dew, which bleaches
our flax, gives it a citron colour, which rich peo-
ple prefer. The black dye, generally used among
the people, is extracted from the bark of the tree
of which this thread is made, by simple infusion
in water. As this thread readily takes all colours,
this hath induced the people to work it up into
different figures of men, birds and quadrupeds.
The stuffs thus wrought, serve to hang their apart-
ments with, to cover their seats, and for other
kinds of furniture.

THE first Europeans, who frequented the western
coasts of Africa, fixed a value on wax, ivory, and
gold, which before had none. They gave a price
to gold, from which they drew at most three thou-
sand marks a year. Their restless avarice, which hath
never been satisfied with this produce, made them
frequently concert expedients to augment it. They
flatter themselves, that their designs will soon be
successful by the following scheme.

IN the interior parts of Africa, under the twelfth
or thirteenth degree of north latitude, there is,
says

says a modern traveller, a pretty large country, book known by the name of Bambuck. It is not subject to a particular king, but governed by village lords, called Farims. These hereditary and independent chiefs are all obliged to unite for the defence of the state, when it is either attacked as a community, or only in any one of its branches.

THE territory of this aristocratical state is dry, and barren. It produces neither maize, rice, nor pulse. The insupportable heats it is subject to, proceed in part from its being surrounded by high mountains, which prevent the wind from refreshing the air. The climate is as unwholesome as it is disagreeable : vapours, which continually issue from the bowels of a soil replete with minerals, render this country unfit to live in, especially to strangers.

IT is gold that hath made this miserable country an object worthy of notice : gold, which in the eyes of the covetous man, seems to compensate for all the evils of nature, though in reality it increases them all. This metal is so common in this country, that it is found almost indiscriminately every where. To obtain it, sometimes it is sufficient to scrape the surface of the earth, that is clayish, light and mixed with sand. When the mine is very rich, it is digged only to the depth of a few feet, and never deeper ; though it has been observed, that the lower it was digged, the more gold the soil afforded. The miners are too indolent to pursue a toil which constantly becomes more tedious and

BOOK too ignorant to prevent the inconveniences it would
xi. be attended with. Their negligence and their
folly are in this instance so extraordinary, that in
washing the gold, in order to separate it from the
earth, they only preserve the larger pieces : the
light parts pass away with the water, which flows
down an inclined plain.

THE inhabitants of Bambuck do not work these
mines at all times, nor are they at liberty to do it
when they please. They are obliged to wait till
private or public wants determine the Farims to
grant this permission. When it is proclaimed, all
who are able to avail themselves of this advantage
meet at the appointed place. When their work is
finished, a division is made. Half of the gold
goes to the lord, and the remainder is equally di-
stributed among the labourers. Those who want
gold at any other time than that of the general
digging, search for it in the beds of the rivers,
where it is very common.

THE French and English have successively been
desirous of appropriating to themselves these real
or imaginary riches. Some thought they could
reach this country by the Niger, others by the
Salum. Far from having succeeded in their at-
tempts of becoming masters of this country, they
have not yet ascertained its existence. The unsuc-
cessfulness of past efforts hath redoubled the acti-
vity of sanguine minds : sensible and judicious
merchants have chosen to limit themselves to a

commerce much more important, which is that of ~~book~~^{books} slaves.

XI.

THE property which some men have, acquired over others in Guinea, is of very high antiquity. It is generally established there, excepting in some small districts, where liberty hath, as it were, retired and is still maintained. No proprietor, however, has a right to sell a man who is born in a state of servitude. He can only dispose of those slaves whom he gets, whether by war, in which every prisoner is a slave unless exchanged, or in lieu of compensation for some injury; or if he hath received them as a testimony of acknowledgment. This law, which seems to be made in favour of one who is born a slave, to indulge him with the enjoyment of his family and of his country, is yet ineffectual, since the Europeans have established luxury on the coasts of Africa. It is every day eluded by concerted quarrels, which two proprietors mutually dissemble, in order to be reciprocally condemned, each in his turn, to a fine, which is paid in persons born slaves, the disposal of whom is allowed by the sanction of the same law.

CORRUPTION, contrary to its ordinary progress, hath advanced from private persons to princes. The procuring of slaves hath given frequent occasion to wars, as they are excited in Europe in order to obtain soldiers. The custom has been established of punishing with slavery not only those who have attempted the lives or properties of

New
merce of
Guinea, or
the slave
trade.

BOOK citizens, but those who were incapable of paying their debts, and those who have violated con-

jugal faith. This punishment, in process of time, has been inflicted for the most trivial offences, after having been at first reserved only for the greatest crimes. Prohibitions even of things indifferent have been constantly multiplied, in order to increase the revenues raised from the fines by increasing the number of offences. Injustice hath known no bounds or restraints. At a great distance from the coast, there are chiefs, who give orders for every thing they meet with in the villages around them to be carried off. The children are thrown into sacks: the men and women are gagged to stifle their cries. If the ravagers are stopped by a superior force, they are conducted before the prince, who always disowns the commission he has given, and under pretence of doing justice, instantly sells his agents to the ships he has treated with.

NOTWITHSTANDING these infamous arts, the people of the coast have found it impossible to supply the demands of the merchants. They have experienced what every nation must, that can trade only with its nominal stock. Slaves are to the commerce of Europeans in Africa, what gold is in the commerce we carry on in the new world. The heads of the negroes represent the stock of the state of Guinnea. Every day this stock is carried off, and nothing is left them but articles of consumption. Their capital gradually vanishes,

be-

because it cannot be renewed, by reason of the ~~book~~ speedy consumptions. Thus the trade for blacks XI. would long since have been entirely lost, if the inhabitants of the coasts had not imparted their luxury to the people of the inland countries, from whom they now draw the greatest part of the slaves that are put into our hands. Thus the trade of the Europeans, by gradual advances, has almost exhausted the only vendible commodities of this nation.

In the space of twenty years this circumstance hath raised the price of slaves almost to four times above the former cost: the reason is this. The slaves are chiefly paid for in merchandise from the East-Indies, which has doubled its value in Europe. A double quantity of these goods must be given in Africa. Thus the colonies of America, where the sale for blacks is concluded, are obliged to support these several augmentations, and consequently to pay four times more than they formerly did.

Notwithstanding this, the distant proprietor who sells his slave, receives a less quantity of merchandise than the person received fifty years ago, who sold his slave in the neighbourhood of the coast. The profits intercepted by passing through different hands, the expences of transport, the imposts, sometimes of three ~~per cent.~~ that must be paid to those princes through whose territories they pass, sink the difference betwixt the sum which the first proprietor receives, and that which the European

BOOK trader pays. These expences continually increase
x1. on account of the great distances of the places
where there are still slaves to be sold. The fur-
ther off the first sale is, the greater will be the
difficulties attending the journey. They will be-
come such, that of the sum which the European
merchant will be able to pay, there will remain so
little to offer to the first seller, that he will rather
choose to keep his slave. All trade of this kind will
then be at an end. In order, therefore, to support
it effectually, our traders must furnish at an exor-
bitant price, and sell in proportion to the colo-
nies ; which, on their part, not being able to dis-
pose of their produce but at a very advanced price,
will no longer find a consumption for it. But till
that time comes, which is, perhaps, not so distant
as the colonists imagine, they will, without the
least remorse, continue to make the lives and la-
bours of the negroes subservient to their interests.
They will find navigators who will hazard the pur-
chasing of them, and these will meet with tyrants
who will sell them.

SLAVE merchants collect themselves into compa-
nies, and forming a species of caravans, in the
space of two or three hundred leagues they con-
duct several files of thirty or forty slaves, all laden
with water and corn which are necessary to their
subsistence in those barren deserts through which
they pass. The manner of securing them without
much incommoding their march, is ingeniously
contrived. A fork of wood from eight to nine
feet

feet long is put round the neck of each slave. A book pin of iron rivetted secures the fork at the back xi. part in such a manner that the head cannot disengage itself. The handle of the fork, the wood of which is very heavy, falls before, and so embarrasses the person who is tied to it, that though he has his arms and legs at liberty, he can neither walk, nor lift up the fork. When they get ready for their march, they range the slaves on the same line, and support and tie the extremity of each fork on the shoulder of the foremost slave, and proceed in this manner from one to another, till they come to the first, the extremity of whose fork is carried by one of the guides. Few restraints are imposed that are not felt by the persons who impose them. In order that these traders may enjoy the refreshment of sleep without uneasiness, they tie the arms of every slave to the tail of the fork which he carries. In this condition he can neither run away nor make any attempt to recover his liberty. These precautions have been found indispensable, because, if the slave can but break his chain, he becomes free. The public faith, which secures to the proprietor the possession of his slave, and which at all times delivers him up into his hands, is silent with regard to a slave and a trader who exercises the most contemptible of all professions.

GREAT numbers of slaves arrive together, especially when they come from distant countries. This arrangement is necessary, in order to diminish the

~~BOOK~~ the expence which is unavoidable in conducting xi. them. The interval between one voyage and another, which by this system of oeconomy is already made too distant, may become still greater by particular circumstances. The most usual are the rains, which cause the rivers to overflow, and put a stop to this trade. The season most favourable to travelling in the interior parts of Africa, is from February to September; and it is from September to March, that the return of these slave traders produces the greatest plenty of this traffic on the coasts.

~~Account of the places and manner in which the slave trade is carried on.~~ THE trade of the Europeans is carried on to the south and north of the line. The first coast, known by the name of Angola, hath but three ports, which are equally free to all nations; these are Cabenda, Loango, and Malemba; and besides these, two more, of which the Portuguese are the sole masters, St. Paul de Loando, and St. Philip de Benguela. These latitudes nearly supply one third of the blacks that are carried to America, who are neither the most intelligent, the most laborious, nor the most robust. The second coast, known by the general name of the Gold coast, abounds more in harbours, but they are not equally favourable to commerce. The restraint occasioned by the forts, which the Europeans have erected in several places, drives away the dealers in slaves. They are to be met with in much larger numbers at Anambou and Calbary, where commerce is entirely free.

IN 1768, there were exported out of Africa, 2000 ~~XL~~
 104,100 slaves. The English brought up 53,100 ~~XL~~
 of them for their islands; their colonists on the
 north continent 6,200; the French 23,500; the
 Dutch 11,300; the Portuguese 8,700; and the
 Danes 1,200. All these unhappy men did not
 arrive at the place of their destination. In the or-
 dinary course of things, the eighth part must have
 perished in their passage. Every nation hath
 employed in its colonies the cultivators it hath pur-
 chased. Great Britain alone has ceded four thou-
 sand of them to the Spaniards, and fraudulently
 introduced about three thousand in the French set-
 tlements.

IT would be a very great mistake to imagine that America regularly receives the same number of ne-
 groes. Not to mention the considerable diminution
 in the number of expeditions to Guinea, on account
 of the war, the arrangements of the last peace have
 occasioned new lands to be cultivated, which re-
 quired extraordinary supplies. The number of
 men must be reduced to sixty thousand, of which
 the African coasts are deprived every year. Sup-
 posing that each of these slaves costs on the spot
 three hundred livres,* those barbarous regions re-
 ceive eighteen millions † for so horrid a sacrifice.

THE French merchant will exclaim, we doubt
 not, at the price which slaves are here stated at.
 It is universally known that he purchases them
 much dearer; and that the English and Dutch

pur-

* 13l. 2s. 6d.

† 787,500l.

BOOK purchase them at a lower price, because they
xi. are not reduced by the insufficiency of their Asiatic commerce and the imperfection of certain manufactures proper to the African trade, to pay, as the French merchant does, for commission, freight, and insurance, in order to draw from foreign ports some merchandise, without which trade cannot be carried on. The Portuguese have still another advantage over these nations. They carry on their expeditions from Brazil; their exchanges are generally made with the tobacco and brandy of their own country; and they maintain an exclusive trade on the coasts, which are two hundred leagues long, and forty broad.

EXCEPTING the Portuguese, all nations pay for slaves with the same merchandise. These are sabres, firelocks, gun-powder, iron, brandy, hardware, woollen stuffs, especially East India cottons, or those which are wrought in Europe, and coloured in the same manner. The people north of the line have adopted, instead of money, little white shells, which we import among them from the Maldives. South of the line, the European trade is deprived of this object of exchange. There small pieces of straw stuff, eighteen inches long, and twelve broad, are used as marks of value. This real mark is only the fortieth part of an ideal value, which they call *piece*.

THIS word, from the time the Europeans have frequented Africa, is become the numerical term of all things that bear the greatest value. The price

price of each species of merchandise imported ~~is~~ ^{book} ther is invariably fixed under the denomination of ~~xi.~~ ^{one, two, three or more pieces.} Each piece, in its original value, is nearly worth a pistole, and for some time past, thirty-five or thirty-six pieces have been given for a negro, all taxes included. The greatest of them is the fee that must be given the factor, who always mediates between the vendor and the purchaser, whom it is necessary to make a friend of, and who is become of so much the more consequence, as the competition between the Europeans has increased, and the want of slaves has been more sensibly felt. Another tax, which though asked under the name of a present, is no less an extorted tribute, is, that which must be paid to the prince and his chief officers, for the liberty of trading. The sum is in proportion to the size of the vessel, and may be valued at three per cent.

THE European nations have been of opinion ^{Are forts necessary in order to procure slaves?} that it was conducive to the utility of their commerce, to form settlements on the coast of Africa. The Portuguese, who first traversed these immense regions, left every where the marks of their ambition, rather than of their sagacity. The weak and numberless colonies which they poured in, soon forgot a country, which had itself forgotten them. In process of time, there remained of these great conquests nothing but that vast space which extends from Zara to cape Negro, from whence Brasil still procures its slaves. They have

have also preserved some isles of little consequence.

XI. Those which are situated at the west end of Cape de Verd, produce salt, feed cattle, and serve as a place of refreshment for vessels going to the East-Indies. Priace's Island, and St. Thomas, which are at the entrance of the Gulph of Gabon, supply navigators with fresh provisions, who, after leaving the gold coast, sail to America. They are both of no importance in the commercial world.

THOUGH Portugal, even in the earliest times, derived but very moderate advantages from the coasts of Africa, it was yet so jealous of the sovereignty which it exercised there, in virtue of its discovery, that it thought no nation had a right to approach them. The English, who first ventured to question the right of these pretensions, about the year 1553, sustained the affront of having their vessels seized. A national war immediately ensued, and the superiority of arms put a final period to this tyranny. In process of time, the exclusive companies of England, which had embarked in this trade, successively formed factories without number, of which that of cape Cerse, situated on the gold coast, and that of James, placed in an island at the mouth of the river Gambia, were for a considerable time the principal and the most useful. Though many of them had been abandoned, there still remained fifteen, when the parliament, roused by the public clamour, determined in 1752, to put a stop to this monopoly. The nation purchased of the proprietors all these fortifi-

fied magazines, for the sum of 1,523,198 livres, book 13 sols,* where there were no more than one hundred and twenty men. The expence of maintaining them amounts annually to about 292,500 livres †.

THE English almost entirely engrossed the African trade, when the Dutch, in 1637, undertook to share it with them. The war they were carrying on against Spain, authorised them to attack the Portuguese settlements in Guinea; and they made themselves masters of both of them in a very short time. The treaty of 1641, secured the property of them to the republic. This state pretending to enter into all the rights of the first possessor, intended to exclude her rival from these latitudes, and ceased not to molest her till the peace of Breda. Of all these conquests, that of fort Mina on the gold coast, was found the most important. It had been built in 1452, by the Portuguese, who had enriched its territory by planting sugar-canæs, maize, and different kinds of excellent fruits; and had supplied it with a number of useful animals, which they had imported thither. They drew from thence a considerable quantity of gold and some slaves. This settlement did not degenerate in the hands of the Hollanders, who made it the center of all the factories they had acquired, and of all the business they carried on in Africa.

THE

* 66,639l. 8s. 9d. $\frac{1}{4}$.

† 12,726l. 17s. 6d.

BOOK xi. THE prosperity of the Dutch, in this part of the world, was at its height, when they were attacked by Lewis XIV. This prince, who aspired after universal glory, seized an opportunity offered him by the war of 1672, of extending the terror which his flag carried with it on all the seas, even to the borders of Africa. He took from the Dutch the forts of Arguin and Portendic, which were at that time the general market for gums. His subjects afterwards established on the coast several posts which were obliged to be abandoned, either because they were injudiciously chosen, or because they were not sufficient forces to support them. Since the time that France, by a series of errors and misfortunes, hath found herself under a necessity of giving up Senegal to the English by the last treaty, she hath nothing now remaining but the factory of Juida, and the island of Gorea, where there is not, nor ever will be any trade. Some years ago, a settlement that would have been of advantage to Anambou, began to be formed, when the workmen were driven away by cannon-shot fired in a time of full peace, by the ships of Great-Britain. An able merchant who was then at London, at the news of this outrage, expressed his astonishment at a conduct so imprudent. *Sir*, said a minister to him, who was in great favour with this enlightened people, *if we were to be just to the French, we should not exist thirty years longer.*

THE Danes, who settled in Africa a little after the middle of the last century, and who purchased

of the king of Aquambo the two forts of Fredericksburg and Christianburg, situated on the golden coast near each other, never experienced a similar treatment. They owed the tranquillity which they enjoyed to the insignificancy of the trade they carried on. It was in so low a state, that they only fitted out a single vessel every two or three years. This trade hath been extended for some time past, but it is still far from being considerable.

If we except the Portuguese, all the European nations subjected their African trade to exclusive charters. The companies in possession of this monopoly, the errors of which all governments at last have felt and put a stop to, fortified their factories, both in order to drive away strangers, and to oblige the natives to sell to none but themselves. When the districts, in which these forts were erected had no more slaves to deliver, trade languished, because the people in the inland countries preferred the conveying their slaves into free ports, where they might chuse the purchasers. Thus the factories, which had been of such utility when the coast was populous, are no longer so valuable, since the factors of them are obliged to make long voyages, in order to complete their purchase. The advantage of these establishments was lost, when the object of their commerce was exhausted.

BOOK THE difficulty of procuring slaves naturally
XI. points out the necessity of employing small ships
In the slave trade small vessels are preferable to large ones. for carrying them off. At a time when a small territory, adjacent to the coast, furnished in a fort-night or three weeks, a whole cargo, it was prudent to employ large vessels, because there was a

possibility of understanding, looking after, and encouraging the slaves, who all spoke the same language. At present, when each ship can scarce procure sixty or eighty slaves a month, brought from the distance of two or three hundred leagues, exhausted by the fatigues of a long journey, obliged to remain on board the vessels they are embarked upon five or six months in sight of their country, having all different idioms, uncertain of the destiny that awaits them, struck with the pre-possession that the Europeans eat them and drink their blood; their extreme uneasiness alone destroys them, or occasions disorders which become contagious by the impossibility of separating the sick from the healthy. A small ship destined to carry two or three hundred negroes, by means of the short stay it makes on the coast, avoids half the accidents and losses to which a ship capable of holding five or six hundred slaves is exposed. Thus the English, who have extended this commerce as far as possible, have adopted the custom of sending only vessels of a hundred and twenty, or a hundred and thirty tons, into the seas which extend from Senegal to the river Volta, and to fit out vessels a little larger only for Colbar, where

the

the trade is more considerable, and where they ~~book~~^{make} their principal cargoes. The French are ~~xi.~~
~~the only people who obstinately adhere to the ancient practice.~~ The town of Nantes, however,
 which alone carries on as much trade in Africa as all the other ports of the kingdom together, begins to feel the absurdity of these prejudices. It will undoubtedly entirely relinquish them ; and all the merchants who conduct the same trade on their own bottoms, will follow its example.

THERE are abuses of the utmost consequence, ^{There are seasons more or less favourable to the slave trade.} to be reformed in this voyage, which is naturally unhealthy. Those who engage in it commonly fall into two great mistakes. Duper to a mercenary disposition, the privateers pay more regard to the port than to the dispatch of their vessels ; a circumstance which necessarily prolongs the voyage, which every thing should induce them to shorten as much as possible. Another inconvenience still more dangerous, is, the custom they have of sailing from Europe at all times ; though the regularity of the winds and the currents hath determined the most proper season for arriving at these latitudes.

THIS bad practice hath given rise to the distinction of the great and little voyage. The little voyage is the straightest and the shortest. It is no more than eighteen hundred leagues to the most distant ports where there are slaves. It may be performed in thirty-five or forty days, from the beginning of September to the end of November ;

BOOK because, from the time of setting out to the time
XI. of arrival, the winds and the currents are favourable. It is even possible to attempt it in December, January and February, but with less security and success.

SAILING is no longer practicable in these latitudes, from the beginning of March to the end of August. The ships would have continually to struggle against the violent currents which run northward, and against the south east wind, which constantly blows. Experience has taught navigators, that during this season, they must keep at a distance from the shore, get into the open sea, sail towards the south as far as twenty-six or twenty-eight degrees betwixt Africa and Brazil, and afterwards draw gradually nearer and nearer to Guinea, in order to land at a hundred and fifty or two hundred leagues to windward of the port where they are to disembark. This route is two thousand five hundred leagues, and requires ninety or a hundred days sail.

THIS great route, independent of its length, deprives them of the most favourable time for trade and for returning. The ships meet with calms, are thwarted by winds, and carried away by currents; water fails them, the provisions are spoiled, and the slaves are seized with the scurvy. Other calamities not less fatal, often increase the danger that attends this expedition. The negroes, to the north of the Line, are subject to the small-pox, which, by a singularity very distressing, seldom breaks

breaks out among this people till after the age of ~~B O O K~~ fourteen. If this contagious distemper affects a ship which is at her moorings, there are several known methods to lessen its violence. But a ship attacked by it, while on its passage to America, often loses the whole cargo of slaves. Those who are born to the south of the Line, avoid this disease by another, which is a kind of virulent ulcer, whose malignity is more violent and more irritable on the sea, and which is never radically cured. Physicians ought, perhaps, to observe this double effect of the small-pox among the negroes, which is, that it favours those who are born beyond the Equator, and never attacks the others in their infancy. The number and variety of effects sometimes afford occasion for the investigation of the causes of disorders, and for the discovery of remedies proper for them.

THOUGH all the nations, concerned in the African trade, are equally interested in preserving the slaves in their passage, they do not all attend to it with the same care. They all feed them with beans, mixed with a small quantity of rice; but they differ in other respects in their manner of treating them. The English, Dutch and Danes keep the men constantly in iron, and frequently hand-cuff the women: the small number of hands they have on board their ships obliges them to this severity. The French, who have great numbers, allow them more liberty; three or four days after their departure they take off all their fetters.

BOOK XI. All these nations, especially the English, are too negligent with regard to the intercourse between the sailors with the women slaves. This irregularity occasions the death of three-fourths of those whom the Guinea voyage destroys every year. None, but the Portuguese, during their passage, are secured against revolts and other calamities. This advantage is a consequence of the care they take to man their vessels only with the negroes, to whom they have given their freedom. The slaves encouraged by the conversation and condition of their countrymen, form a tolerably favourable idea of the destiny that awaits them. The quietness of their behaviour induces the Portuguese to grant the two sexes the happiness of living together: an indulgence, which, if allowed in other vessels, would be productive of the greatest inconveniences.

IT is a generally received opinion, that the blacks, who are brought from America, are now sold at a higher price than they were formerly. This is a mistake, arising from this circumstance, that the purchaser pays attention only to the number of those arbitrary marks of value which he gives, instead of reckoning the quantity of those commodities he delivers in exchange. This proportion, which is the only exact one, will make him sensible that the price of negroes hath not advanced; since they are purchased with the same quantity of those commodities as they were in the earliest

earliest times. It is the value of money that hath ~~book~~^{been} changed, and not that of the unhappy slave. XI.

ALL nations do not sell their slaves in the same manner. The Englishman, who hath promiscuously bought up whatever presented itself in the general market, sells his cargo by wholesale. A single merchant buys it entire; and the planters parcel it out. What they reject is sent into foreign colonies, either by smuggling, or with permission. The cheapness of a negro is a greater object to the buyer to induce him to purchase, than the badness of his constitution is to deter him from it. These traders will one day be convinced of the absurdity of such a conduct.

THE Portuguese, Dutch, French, and Danes, who have no way of disposing of the infirm and weakly slaves, never charge themselves with them in Guinea. They all divide their cargoes, according to the demands of the proprietors of plantations. The bargain is made for ready money, or for credit, according as the circumstances vary. When the terms are fixed for eighteen months, as it happens but too often in the French colonies, the negro's labour must by that time have brought in two thirds of the price paid for him. If that does not always happen, it is owing to particular reasons, the detail of which would be superfluous.

IN America it is generally believed and asserted, ^{Wretched condition of the slaves.} that the Africans are equally incapable of reason

BOOK and of virtue. The following well-authenticated
xi. fact will enable us to judge of this opinion.

AN English ship that traded in Guinea in 1752, was obliged to leave the surgeon behind, whose bad state of health did not permit him to continue at sea. Murray, for that was his name, was there endeavouring to recover his health, when a Dutch vessel drew near the coast, put the blacks in irons, whom curiosity had brought to the shore, and instantly sailed off with their booty.

THOSE who interested themselves for these unhappy people, incensed at so base a treachery, instantly ran to Cudjoc, who stopped them at his door, and asked them what they were in search of. *The white man, who is with you, replied they, who should be put to death, because his brethren have carried off ours.* The Europeans, answered the generous host, *who have carried off our countrymen, are barbarians; kill them whenever you can find them.* But he who lodges with me is a good man, he is my friend; my house is his fortress; I am his soldier, and I will defend him. Before you can get at him, you shall pass over my body. O my friends, what just man would ever enter my doors, if I had suffered my habitation to be stained with the blood of an innocent man? This discourse appeased the rage of the blacks: they retired ashamed of the design that had brought them there; and some days after acknowledged to Murray himself, how happy they were that they had not committed a crime, which would have occasioned them perpetual remorse.

THIS

THIS event renders it probable, that the first ~~book~~ ^{impressions} which the Africans receive in the new world, determine them either to good or bad actions. Repeated experience confirms the truth of this observation: those who fall to the share of a humane master, willingly espouse his interests. They insensibly adopt the spirit and manners of the place where they are fixed. This attachment is sometimes exalted even into heroism. A Portuguese slave who had fled into the woods, having learnt that his old master had been taken up for an assassination, came into the court of justice, and acknowledged himself guilty of the fact; let himself be put in prison in lieu of his master; brought false, though judicial, proofs of his pretended crime, and suffered death instead of the guilty person. Actions of a less heroical nature, though not uncommon, have touched the hearts of some colonists. Several would readily say as Sir William Gooch, governor of Virginia, when he was blamed for returning the salutation of a black: *I should be very sorry that a slave should be more polite than myself.*

BUT there are barbarians, who considering pity as a weakness, delight in making their dependents perpetually sensible of their tyranny. They justly, however, receive their punishment in the negligence, infidelity, desertion, and suicide of the deplorable victims of their insatiable avarice. Some of these unfortunate men, especially those of Mina, courageously put an end to their lives, under the firm persuasion, that they shall immediately

BOOK diately after death rise again in their own country,
xi. which they look upon as the finest in the world.

— A vindictive spirit furnishes others with resources still more fatal. Instructed from their infancy in the arts of poisons, which grow, as it were, under their hands, they employ them in the destruction of the cattle, the horses, the mules, the companions of their slavery, and of every living thing employed in the cultivation of the lands of their oppressors. In order to remove from themselves all suspicion, they first exercise their cruelties on their wives, their children, their mistresses, and on every thing that is dearest to them. In this dreadful project, that can only be the result of despair, they take the double pleasure of delivering their species from a yoke more dreadful than death, and of leaving their tyrant in a wretched state of misery, that is an image of their own condition. The fear of punishment does not check them. They are scarce ever known to have any kind of foresight; and they are, moreover, certain of concealing their crimes, being proof against tortures. By means of one of those inexplicable contradiction of the human heart, though common to all people, whether civilized or not, negroes though naturally cowards, give many instances of an unshaken firmness of soul. The same organisation which subjects them to servitude, from the indolence of their mind, and the relaxation of their fibres, inspires them with vigour and unparalleled resolution for extraordinary actions. They are cowards

cowards all their life-time and heroes only for an instant. One of these miserable men has been known to cut his wrist off with a stroke of a hatchet, rather than purchase his liberty, by submitting to the vile office of an executioner.

NOTHING, however, is more miserable than the condition of a black, throughout the whole American Archipelago. A narrow, unwholesome hut, without any conveniences, serves him for a dwelling. His bed is a hurdle, fitter to put the body to torture than to afford it any ease. Some earthen pots, and a few wooden dishes are his furniture. The coarse linen which covers part of his body, neither secures him from the insupportable heats of the day, nor the dangerous dews of the night. The food he is supplied with, is cassava, salt beef, cod, fruits and roots, which are scarce able to support his miserable existence. Deprived of every enjoyment, he is condemned to a perpetual drudgery in a burning climate, constantly under the rod of an unfeeling master.

THE condition of these slaves, though every where deplorable, is something different in the colonies. Those who have very extensive estates, generally give them a portion of land, to supply them with the necessaries of life. They are allowed to employ a part of the Sunday in cultivating it, and the few moments that on other days they spare from the time allotted for their meals. In the smaller islands, the colonist himself furnishes their food, the greatest part of which hath been imported

.BOOK imported by sea from other countries. Ignorance, XI. avarice, or poverty, have introduced into some colonies, a method of providing for the subsistence of negroes, equally destructive both to the men and the plantation. They are allowed on Saturday, or some other day, to work in the neighbouring plantations, or to plunder them, in order to procure a maintenance for the rest of the week.

BESIDES these differences arising from the particular situation of the settlements in the American islands, each European nation hath a manner of treating slaves peculiar to itself. The Spaniards make them the companions of their indolence; the Portuguese, the instruments of their debauch; the Dutch, the victims of their avarice; the English, who easily derive their subsistence from their estates on the northern continent, are less attentive to the management of them than any other nations. If they never promote intermarriages among the blacks, they yet receive with kindness, as the gifts of nature, those children that are the produce of less restrained connections, and seldom exact from the fathers or mothers a toil or a tribute above their strength. Slaves, by them, are considered merely as natural productions, which ought neither to be used, nor destroyed without necessity; but they never treat them with familiarity; they never smile upon them, nor speak to them. One would think they were afraid of letting them suspect, that nature could have given

given any one mark of resemblance betwixt them ~~book~~ and their slaves. This makes them hate the English. ~~XI.~~ The French, less haughty, less disdainful, consider the Africans as a species of moral beings; and these unhappy men, sensible of the honour of seeing themselves almost treated like rational creatures, seem to forget that their master is impatient of making his fortune, that he always exacts labours from them above their strength, and frequently lets them want subsistence.

THE opinions of the Europeans have also some influence on the condition of the negroes of America. The protestants, who are not actuated by a desire of making proselytes, suffer them to live in Mohammedism, or in that idolatry in which they were born, under a pretence, that it would be injurious to keep their *bretbren in Christ* in a state of slavery. The catholics think themselves obliged to give them some instruction, and to baptize them; but their charity extends no further than the bare ceremonies of a baptism, which is wholly useless and unnecessary to men who dread not the pains of hell, to which, they say, they are accustomed in this life.

THE torments they experience in their slavery, and the disorders to which they are liable in America, both contribute to render them insensible to the dread of future punishment. They are particularly subject to two diseases, the yaws, and a complaint that affects their stomach. The first effect of this last disorder is, to turn their skin and

com-

BOOK complexion to an olive colour. Their tongue becomes white, and they are overpowered by such a desire of sleeping that they cannot resist: they grow faint, and are incapable of the least exercise. It is a languor, and a general relaxation of the whole machine. In this situation they are in such a state of despondency, that they suffer themselves to be knocked down rather than walk. The loathing which they have of mild and wholesome food, is attended with a kind of rage for every thing that is salted or spiced. Their legs swell, their breath is obstructed, and few of them survive this disorder. The greatest part die of suffocation, after having suffered and languished for several months.

THE thickness of their blood, which appears to be the source of these disorders, may proceed from several causes. One of the principal, is, undoubtedly, the melancholy which must seize these men who are violently torn away from their country, are fettered like criminals, who find themselves all on a sudden on the sea, where they continue for two months or six weeks, and who, from the midst of a beloved family, pass under the yoke of an unknown people, from whom they expect the most dreadful punishments. A species of food, new to them, and disagreeable in itself, disgusts them in their passage. At their arrival in the islands, the provisions that are distributed to them, are neither good in quality, nor sufficient to support them. To complete their misery, several among them have contracted in Africa, the habit of eating a certain kind of earth,

earth, which gratified their taste, without being in ~~soo k~~
the least hurtful to them : they seek for something
that resembles this, and chance has thrown in their
way a soft stone of a deep yellow, which totally
spoils their stomach.

THE yaws, which is the second disorder pecu-
liar to negroes, discovers itself by blotches that are
dry, hard, callous, and round, sometimes covered
by the skin, but most commonly ulcerated, and
sprinkled, as it were, with a whitish flower inter-
mixed with yellow. The yaws have been con-
founded with the venereal disease, because the
same remedy is proper for both. This opinion,
though pretty general, has less to support it, than
at first sight it appears to have.

ALL the negroes, as well male as female, who
come from Guinea, or are born in the islands,
have the yaws once in their lives : it is a disease
they must necessarily pass through ; but there is
no instance of any of them being attacked with it
a second time, after having been radically cured.
The Europeans seldom or never catch this disor-
der, notwithstanding the frequent and daily con-
nection which they have with the negro women.
These women suckle the children of the white peo-
ple, but do not give them the yaws. How is it pos-
sible to reconcile these facts, which are incontestible,
with the system which physicians seem to have adopt-
ed with regard to the nature of the yaws ? Can it
not be allowed, that the semen, the blood, and skin
of the negroes, are susceptible of a virus peculiar to
their

BOOK their species? The cause of this disorder, perhaps, is owing to that which occasions their colour: one difference is naturally productive of another: and there is no being or quality that exists absolutely detached from others in nature.

But whatever this disorder may be, it is evident from the most accurate and undeniable calculations, that there dies every year in America, the seventh part of the blacks that are imported thither from Guinea. Fourteen hundred thousand unhappy beings, who are now in the European colonies of the new world, are the unfortunate remains of nine millions of slaves that have been conveyed thither. This dreadful destruction cannot be the effect of the climate, which is nearly the same as that of Africa, much less of the disorders, to which, in the opinion of all observers, but few fall a sacrifice. It must originate from the manner in which these slaves are governed: and might not an error of this nature be corrected?

In what manner the condition of slaves might be rendered more supportable.

THE first step necessary in this reformation would be to attend minutely to the natural and moral state of man. Those who go to purchase blacks on the coasts of savage nations; those who convey them to America, and especially those who direct their labours, often think themselves obliged, from their situation, and frequently too for the sake of their own safety, to oppress these wretched men. The soul of these managers of slaves, lost to all sense of compassion, is ignorant of every motive to enforce obedience, but those of fear or severity,

rity, and these they exercise with all the harshness B O O K
of a temporary authority. If the proprietors of XI.
plantations would cease to regard the care of their
slaves, as an occupation below them, and consider it as an office to which it is their duty to at-
tend, they would soon discard these errors that
arise from a spirit of cruelty. The history of all
mankind would shew them, that in order to ren-
der slavery useful, it is, at least, necessary to make
it early; that force does not prevent the rebellion
of the mind; that it is the master's interest that
the slave should be attached to life, and that no-
thing is to be expected from him the moment that
he no longer fears to die.

This principle of enlightened reason, derived
from the sentiments of humanity, would contrib-
ute to the reformation of several abuses. Men
would acknowledge the necessity of lodging,
cloathing, and giving proper food to beings con-
demned to the most painful bondage that ever has
existed since the infamous origin of slavery. They
would be sensible that it is naturally impossible
that those who reap no advantage from their own
labours, can have the same understanding, the
same oeconomy, the same activity, the same strength
as the man who enjoys the produce of his industry.
That political moderation would gradually take
place, which consists in lessening of labour, alle-
viating punishment, and rendering to man part
of his rights, in order to reap with greater cer-
tainty the benefit of those duties that are imposed

BOOK upon him. The preservation of a great number
XI. of slaves, whom disorders occasioned by vexa-
tion or regret, deprive the colonies of, would be
the natural consequence of so wise a regulation.
Far from aggravating the yoke that oppresses
them, every kind of attention should be given to
make it easy, and to dissipate even the idea of it,
by favouring a natural taste that seems peculiar to
the negroes.

THEIR organs are extremely sensible of the
powers of music. Their ear is so true, that in
their dances, the time of a song makes them spring
up a hundred at once, striking the earth at the
same instant. Enchanted, as it were, with the
voice of a finger, or the tone of a stringed in-
strument, a vibration of the air is the spirit that
actuates all the bodies of these men: a sound agi-
tates, transports, and throws them into extasies.
In their common labours, the motion of their
arms, or of their feet, is always in cadence. At
all their employments they sing, and seem always
as if they were dancing. Music animates their
courage, and rouzes them from their indolence.
The marks of this extreme sensibility to harmony,
are visible in all the muscles of their bodies, which
are always naked. Poets and musicians by nature,
they make the words subservient to the music; by
a licence they arbitrarily assume of lengthening or
shortening them, in order to accomodate them
to an air that pleases them. Whenever any ob-
ject or incident strikes a negro, he instantly makes

it the subject of a song. In all ages this has been book the origin of poetry. Three or four words, which are alternately repeated by the singer and the general chorus, sometimes constitute the whole poem. Five or six bars of music compose the whole length of the song. A circumstance that appears singular, is, that the same air, though merely a continual repetition of the same tones, takes entire possession of them, makes them work or dance for several hours: neither they, nor even the white men, are disgusted with that tedious uniformity which these repetitions might naturally occasion. This particular attachment is owing to the warmth and expression which they introduce into their songs. Their airs are generally double time. None of them tend to inspire them with pride. Those intended to excite tenderness, promote rather a kind of languor. Even those which are most lively, carry in them a certain expression of melancholy. This is the highest entertainment to minds of great sensibility.

So strong an inclination for music might become a powerful motive of action under the direction of skillful hands. Festivals, games and rewards might on this account be established among them. These amusements, conducted with judgment, would prevent that stupidity so common among slaves, ease their labours, and preserve them from that constant melancholy which consumes them, and shortens their days. After having provided for the preservation of the blacks exported from Afri-

BOOK ca, the welfare of those who are born in the islands
xi. themselves would then be considered.

THE negroes are not averse from the propagation of their species even in the chains of slavery. But it is the cruelty of the masters which hath effectually prevented them from complying with this great end of nature. Such hard labour is required from negro women, both before and after their pregnancy, that their children are either abortive, or live but a short time after delivery. Mothers, rendered desperate by the punishments which the weakness of their condition occasions them, snatch sometimes their children from the cradle, in order to strangle them in their arms, and sacrifice them with a fury mingled with a spirit of revenge and compassion, that they may not become the property of their cruel masters. This barbarity, the horror of which must be wholly imputed to the Europeans, will, perhaps, convince them of their error. Their sensibility will be roused, and engage them to pay a greater attention to their true interests. They will find that by committing such outrages against humanity, they injure themselves; and if they do not become the benefactors of their slaves, they will at least cease to be their executioners.

THEY will, perhaps, resolve to set free those mothers who shall have brought up a considerable number of children to the age of six years. The allurements of liberty are the most powerful that can influence the human heart. The negro women,

men, animated by the hope of so great a blessing, B O O K
to which all would aspire, and few would be able XI.
to obtain, would make neglect and infamy be
succeeded by a virtuous emulation to bring up
children, whose number and preservation would
secure to them freedom and tranquillity.

AFTER having taken wise measures not to de-
prive their plantations of those succours arising
from the extraordinary fruitfulness of the negro
women; they will attend to the care of conducting
and extending cultivation by means of population,
and without foreign expedients. Every thing in-
vites them to establish this easy and natural system.

THERE are some powers, whose settlements in
the American isles, every day acquire extent, and
there are none whose manual labour does not con-
tinually increase. These lands, therefore, con-
stantly require a greater number of hands to clear
them. Africa, where all Europeans go to recruit
the population of the colonies, gradually fur-
nishes them with fewer men, and supplies them
at the same time with worse slaves and at a higher
price. This source for the obtaining slaves will
be gradually more and more exhausted. But were
this change in trade as chimerical, as it seems to
be not far distant, it is nevertheless certain that a
great number of slaves, drawn out of a remote
region, perish in their passage, or in the new
world; and that when they come to America they
are sold at a very advanced price; that there are
few of them whose natural term of life is not

BOOK shortened ; and that the greater part of those who
XI. attain a wretched old age, are extremely ignorant,
' and being accustomed from their infancy to idleness, are frequently very unfit for the employments to which they are destined, and are in a continual state of despondency, on account of their being separated from their country. If we are not mistaken in our opinion, cultivators born in the American islands themselves, always breathing their native air, brought up without any other expence than what consists in a cheap food, habituated in early life to labour by their own parents, endowed for a sufficient share of understanding, or a singular aptitude for all the useful arts ; such cultivators cannot but be preferable to slaves that have been sold and live in a perpetual exile and restraint.

THE method of substituting in the place of foreign negroes those of the colonies themselves, is very obvious. It wholly consists in superintending the black children that are born in the islands, in confining to their workhouses that multitude of slaves who carry about with them their worthlessness, their licentiousness, and their luxury and insolence of their masters, in all the towns and ports of Europe; but above all, in requiring of navigators who frequent the African coasts, that they should form their cargo of an equal number of men and women, or even of a majority of women, during some years, in order to reduce that disproportion which obtains between the two sexes.

THIS

THIS last precaution, by putting the pleasures ~~book~~ of love within the reach of all the blacks, would contribute to their ease and multiplication. These unhappy men, forgetting the weight of their chains, would with transport see themselves live again in their children. The majority of them are faithful, even to death, to those negro women whom love and slavery have assigned to them for their companions; they treat them with that compassion which the wretched mutually derive from one another even in the rigour of their condition; they comfort them under the load of their employments; they sympathize, at least, with them, when, through excess of labour, or want of food, the mother can only offer her child a breast that is dry, or bathed in her tears. The women, on their part, though tied down to no restrictions of chastity, are fixed in their attachments; provided that the vanity of being beloved by white people does not render them inconstant. Unhappily this is a temptation to infidelity, to which they have too often opportunities to yield.

THOSE who have inquired into the causes of this taste for black women, which appears to be so depraved in the Europeans, have found it to arise from the nature of the climate, which under the torrid zone irresistibly excites men to the pleasures of love; the facility of gratifying this insurmountable inclination without restraint, and without the trouble of a long pursuit; from a certain captivating attraction of beauty, discoverable in

BOOK black women, as soon as custom hath once reconciled the eye to their colour; but principally from a warmth of constitution, which gives them the power of inspiring and returning the most ardent transports. Thus they revenge themselves, as it were, for the humiliating despondence of their condition, by the violent and immoderate passions which they excite in their masters; nor do our ladies, in Europe, possess in a more exalted degree the art of wasting and running out large fortunes than the negro women. But those of Africa have the superiority over those of Europe, in the real passion they have for the men who purchase them. The happy discovery and prevention of conspiracies that would have destroyed all their oppressors by the hands of their slaves, hath been often owing to the faithful attachment of these negro women. The double tyranny of these unworthy usurpers of the estates and liberty of such a number of people, deserved, doubtless, such a punishment.

*Slavery is
entirely re-
pugnant to
humanity,
and justice.* We will not here so far debase ourselves as to enlarge the ignominious list of those writers who devote their abilities to justify by policy what morality condemns. In an age where so many errors are boldly laid open, it would be unpardonable to conceal any truth that is interesting to humanity. If whatever we have hitherto advanced hath seemingly tended only to alleviate the burden of slavery, the reason is, that it was first necessary to give some comfort to those unhappy

happy beings, whom we cannot set free; and book
convince their oppressors that they are cruel to xi.
the prejudice of their real interests. But, in the
mean time, until some considerable revolution shall
make the evidence of this great truth felt, it may
not be improper to pursue this subject further.
We shall then first prove, that there is no reason
of state that can authorise slavery. We shall not be
afraid to cite to the tribunal of reason and justice
those governments which tolerate this cruelty, or
which even are not ashamed to make it the basis
of their power.

MONTESQUIEU could not prevail upon himself
to treat the question concerning slavery in a serious
light. In reality it is degrading reason to employ
it, I will not say in defending, but even in refut-
ing an abuse so repugnant to it. Whoever justi-
fies so odious a system, deserves the utmost con-
tempt from a philosopher, and from the negro a
stab with his dagger.

If you touch me, said Clarissa to Lovelace, that
moment I kill myself; and I would say to him,
who attempted to deprive me of my liberty, if
you approach me, I will stab you. In this case,
I should reason better than Clarissa; because, de-
fending my liberty, or, which is the same thing,
my life, is my primary duty; to regard that of
another, is only a secondary consideration; and if
all other circumstances were the same, the death
of a criminal is more conformable to justice than
that of an innocent person.

WILL

BOOK WILL it be said, that he who wants to make
XI. me a slave does me no injury, but that he only
'makes use of his rights? Where are those rights?
Who hath stamped upon them so sacred a character
as to silence mine? From nature I hold the right
of self-defence; nature, therefore, has not given
to another the right of attacking me. If thou
thinkest thyself authorised to oppress me, because
thou art stronger and more ingenious than I am;
do not complain if my vigorous arm shall plunge
a dagger into thy breast; do not complain, when
in thy tortured entrails thou shalt feel the pangs
of death conveyed by poison into thy food: I am
stronger and more ingenious than thou: fall a vic-
tim, therefore, in thy turn; and expiate the crime
of having been an oppressor.

He who supports the system of slavery is the
enemy of the whole human race. He divides it
into two societies of legal assassins; the oppressors
and the oppressed. It is the same thing as pro-
claiming to the world, if you would preserve your
life, instantly take away mine, for I want to have
yours.

BUT the right of slavery, you say, extends only
to the right of labour and the privation of liberty,
not of life. What! does not the master, who
disposes of my strength at his pleasure, likewise
dispose of my life, which depends on the volun-
tary and proper use of my faculties? What is ex-
istence to him, who has not the disposal of it? I
cannot kill my slave; but I can make him bleed
under

under the whip of an executioner; I can overwhelm him with sorrows, drudgery and want; I can injure him every way, and secretly undermine the principles and springs of his life; I can smother by slow punishments, the wretched infant which a negro woman carries in her womb. Thus the laws protect the slave against a violent death, only to leave to my cruelty the right of making him die by degrees.

LET us proceed a step further: the right of slavery is that of perpetrating all sorts of crimes: those crimes which invade property; for slaves are not suffered to have any even in their own persons: those crimes which destroy personal safety; for the slave may be sacrificed to the caprice of his master: those crimes which make modesty shudder.—My blood rises at these horrid images. I detest, I abhor the human species, made up only of victims and executioners, and if it is never to become better, may it be annihilated!

FURTHER, that I may disclose without reserve my sentiments on this subject. Cartouche, the highwayman, sitting at the foot of a tree in a deep forest, calculating the profits and losses of his robberies, the rewards and pay of his associates, and adjusting with them the ideas of proportion and distributive justice; this Cartouche is not a very different character from that of the privateer, who, reclined on his counter, with his pen in his hand, settles the number of attacks which he can order to be made on the coasts of Guinea; who de-

BOOK deliberately examines how many firelocks each
xi. negro will cost him, in order to support the war
' which is to furnish him with slaves ; how many iron fetters to confine him aboard ; how many whips to make him work : how much each drop of blood will be worth to him with which each negro will water his plantation : if the black woman will contribute more to his estate by the labours of her hands, or by those of bearing children ?—What think you of this parallel ?—The highwayman attacks you, and takes your money ; the trader carries off even your person. The one invades the rights of society, the other, those of nature. This certainly is the truth ; and if there existed a religion which authorised, which tolerated, even by its silence, such enormities ; if, moreover, occupied by idle or factious questions, it did not eternally denounce vengeance against the authors or instruments of this tyranny ; if it made it criminal for a slave to break his bonds ; if it did not expel the unjust judge who condemns the fugitive to death ; if such a religion existed, its ministers ought to be massacred under the ruins of their altars.

BUT these negroes, say they, are a race of men born for slavery ; their dispositions are narrow, treacherous, and wicked ; they themselves allow the superiority of our understandings, and almost acknowledge the justice of our authority.

THE minds of the negroes are contracted ; because slavery destroys all the springs of the soul. They

They are wicked ; but not sufficiently so with you. B O O K
They are treacherous, because they are under no obligation to speak truth to their tyrants. They acknowledge the superiority of our understandings ; because we have abused their ignorance : they allow the justice of our authority, because we have abused their weakness. I might as well say, that the Indians are a species of men born to be crushed to death ; because there are fanatics among them, who throw themselves under the wheels of their idol's car before the temple of Jaguernat.

BUT these negroes, it is further urged, were born slaves. Barbarians, will you persuade me, that a man can be the property of a sovereign, a son the property of a father, a wife the property of a husband, a domestic the property of a master, a negro the property of a planter ?

BUT these slaves have sold themselves. Could a man ever by compact, or by an oath permit another to use and abuse him ? If he assented to this compact, or confirmed it by an oath, it was in a transport of ignorance or folly ; and he is released from it, the moment that he either knows himself, or his reason returns.

BUT they had been taken in war. What does this signify to you ? Suffer the conqueror to make what ill use he pleases of his own victory. Why do you make yourselves his accomplices ?

BUT they were criminals condemned in their country to slavery. Who was it that condemned them ? Do you not know, that in a despotic state there is no criminal but the tyrant.

BOOK XI. THE subject of an absolute prince is the same as the slave in a state repugnant to nature. Every thing that contributes to keep a man in such a state is an attempt against his person. Every power which fixes him to the tyranny of one man, is the power of his enemies : and all those who are about him are the authors or abettors of this violence. His mother, who taught him the first lessons of obedience ; his neighbour, who set him the example of it ; his superiors, who compelled him into this state ; and his equals, who led him into it by their opinion : all these are the ministers and instruments of tyranny. The tyrant can do nothing of himself ; he is only the first mover of those efforts which all his subjects exert to their own mutual oppression. He keeps them in a state of perpetual war, which renders robberies, treasons, assassinations lawful. Thus, like the blood which flows in his veins, all crimes originate from his heart, and return thither as to their primary source. Caligula used to say, that if the whole human race had but one head, he should have taken pleasure in cutting it off. Socrates would have said, that if all crimes were heaped upon one head, that should be the one which ought to be struck off.

LET us, therefore, endeavour to make the light of reason and the sentiments of nature take place of the blind ferocity of our ancestors. Let us break the bonds of so many victims to our mercenary principles, should we even be obliged to dif-

card a commerce which is founded only on injustice, and whose object is luxury.

BOOK
XI.

BUT even this is not necessary. There is no occasion to give up those conveniences which custom hath so much endeared to us. We may draw them from our colonies, without peopling them with slaves. These productions may be cultivated by the hands of freemen, and then be reaped without remorse.

THE islands are filled with blacks, whose fetters have been broken. They successively clear the small plantations that have been given them, or which they have acquired by their industry. Such of these unhappy men, as should recover their independence, would live in quiet upon the same manual labours, that would be then free and advantageous to them. The vassals of Denmark, who have lately been made free, have not abandoned their ploughs.

Is it then apprehended, that the facility of acquiring subsistence without labour, on a soil naturally fertile, and of dispensing with the want of cloaths, would plunge these men in idleness? Why then do not the inhabitants of Europe confine themselves to such labours as are of indispensable necessity? Why do they exhaust their powers in laborious employments which tend only to the continual gratifications of a frivolous imagination? There are amongst us a thousand professions, some more laborious than others, which owe their origin to our institutions. Human laws have

BOOK have given rise to a variety of factitious wants, XI. which otherwise would never have had an existence. By disposing of every species of property according to their capricious institutions, they have subjected an infinite number of people to the imperious will of their fellow-creatures, so far as even to make them sing and dance for subsistence. We have amongst us beings, formed like ourselves, who have consented to inter themselves under mountains, to furnish us with metals and with copper, perhaps to poison us: why do we imagine that the negroes are less dupes and less foolish than the Europeans?

AT the time that we gradually confer liberty on these unhappy beings as a reward for their œconomy, their good behaviour, and their industry, we must be careful to subject them to our laws and manners, and to offer them our superfluities. We must give them a country, give them interests to study, productions to cultivate, and an object adequate to their respective tastes, and our colonies will never want hands, which being eased of their chains, will be more active and robust.

IN order to overturn the whole system of slavery, which is supported by passions so universal, by laws so authentic, by the emulation of such powerful nations, by prejudices still more powerful, to what tribunal shall we refer the cause of humanity, which so many men are in confederacy to betray? Sovereigns of the earth, you alone can bring

bring about this revolution. If you do not sport ~~B O O K~~
with the rest of mortals, if you do not regard the ~~XI.~~
power of kings as the right of a successful plun-
der, and the obedience of subjects as artfully ob-
tained from their ignorance, reflect on your own
obligations. Refuse the sanction of your autho-
rity to the infamous and criminal traffic of men
turned into so many herds of cattle, and this trade
will cease. For once unite for the happiness of
the world, those powers and designs which have
been so often exerted for its ruin. If some one
among you would venture to found the expecta-
tion of this opulence and grandeur on the gene-
rosity of all the rest, he instantly becomes an ene-
my of mankind, who ought to be destroyed. You
may carry fire and sword into his territories. Your
armies will soon be inspired with the sacred en-
thusiasm of humanity. You will then perceive
what difference virtue makes between men who
succour the oppressed, and mercenaries who serve
tyrants.

BUT what am I saying? Let the ineffectual calls
of humanity be no longer pleaded with the peo-
ple and their masters: perhaps, they have never
been attended to in any public transactions. If then,
ye nations of Europe, interest alone can exert its
influence over you, listen to me once more. Your
slaves stand in no need either of your generosity
or your counsels, in order to break the sacrile-
gious yoke of their oppression. Nature speaks a
more powerful language than philosophy, or in-
. VOL. III. H h terest.

BOOK terest. Some white people already massacred; XI. have expiated a part of our crimes; already have two colonies of fugitive negroes been established, to whom treaties and power give a perfect security from your attempts. Poison hath at different times been the instrument of their vengeance. Several have eluded your oppression by a voluntary death. These enterprises are so many indications of the impending storm; and the negroes only want a chief, sufficiently courageous, to lead them to vengeance and slaughter.

WHERE is this great man to be found, whom nature, perhaps, owes to the honour of the human species? Where is this new Spartacus, who will not find a Crassus? Then will the *black code* be no more; and the *white code* will be a dreadful one, if the conqueror only regards the right of reprisals.

TILL this revolution takes place, the negroes groan under the yoke of oppression, the description of which cannot but interest us more and more in their destiny.

Labour of slaves. THE soil of the American islands hath little resemblance to ours. Its productions are very different, as well as the manner of cultivating them. Except some pot-herbs, nothing is sown there; every thing is planted.

TOBACCO being the first production that was cultivated, as its roots do not strike deep, and the least injury destroys them, a simple harrow was only employed to prepare the lands which were

to receive it, and to extirpate the noxious weeds ~~BOOK~~ which would have choked it. This custom still ~~xii.~~ prevails.

WHEN more troublesome cultures began to be attended to, which were more delicate, the hoe was made use of to work and weed; but it was not employed over the whole extent of ground that was to be cultivated. It was thought sufficient to dig a hole for the reception of the plant.

THE inequality of the ground, most commonly full of hillocks, probably gave rise to this custom. It might be apprehended, that the rains, which always fall in torrents, should destroy by the cavities they make, the land that had been turned up. Indolence, and the want of means at the time of the first settlements extended this practice to the most level plains, and custom which no one ever thought of deviating from, gave a sanction to it. At length some planters, who were adventurous enough to discard former prejudices, thought of using the plough, and it is probable, that this method will become general wherever it shall be found practicable. It has every circumstance in its favour that can make it desirable.

ALL the lands of the islands were virgin lands, when the Europeans undertook to clear them. The first that were occupied, have for a long time yielded less produce than they did in the beginning. Those which have been successively cleared, are likewise more or less exhausted, in proportion to the period of their first cultivation.

BOOK Whatever their fertility at first might have been,
xi. they all lose it in process of time, and they will soon
' cease to require the labours of those who cultivate
them, if art is not exerted to assist nature.

IT is a principle of agriculture generally admitted by naturalists, that the earth becomes fertile only in proportion as it can receive the influence of the air, and of all those meteors which are directed by this powerful agent, such as fogs, dews, and rains. Continual labour can only procure this advantage to it: the islands in particular constantly require it. The wet season must be chosen for turning up the ground, the dryness of which would be an impediment to fertility. Ploughing cannot be attended with any inconvenience in lands that are level. One might prevent the danger of having shelving grounds destroyed by storms, by making furrows transversely, on a line that should cross that of the slope of the hillocks. If the declivity were so steep that the cultivated grounds could be carried away, notwithstanding the furrows, small drains, something deeper, might be added for the same purpose at particular distances, which would partly break the force and velocity that the sleepiness of the hills adds to the fall of heavy rains.

THE utility of the plough would not be merely limited to the producing a greater portion of the vegetable juice in plants; it would make their produce the more certain. The islands are the regions of insects: their multiplication there is favoured

voured by a constant heat, and one race succeeds another without interruption. The extensive ravages they make are well known. Frequent and successive ploughing would check the progress of this devouring race, disturb their reproduction, would kill great numbers of them, and destroy the greatest part of their eggs. Perhaps, this expedient would not be sufficient against the rats which ships have brought from Europe into America, where they have increased to that degree, that they often destroy one third of the crops. The industry of slaves might also be made use of, and their vigilance might be encouraged by some gratification.

THE use of the plough would probably introduce the custom of manuring ; it is already known on the greatest part of the coast. The manure there in use is called varch, a kind of sea plant, which when ripe, is detached from the water, and driven on the strand by the motion of the waves : it is very productive of fertility, but if employed without previous preparation, it communicates to the sugar a disagreeable bitterness, which must arise from the salts that are impregnated with oily particles abounding in sea plants. Perhaps, in order to take off this bitter taste, it would only be necessary to burn the plant and make use of the ashes. The salts being by this operation detached from the oily particles, and triturated by vegetation, would circulate more freely in the sugar-cane, and impart to it purer juices.

BOOK THE interior parts of this country have not till lately been dunged. Necessity will make this practice become more general; and in time the soil of America will be affected by the same methods of cultivation as the soil of Europe; but with more difficulty. In the islands where herds of cattle are not so numerous, and where there is seldom the convenience of stables, it is necessary to have recourse to other kinds of manure, and multiply them as much as possible, in order to compensate the quality by the quantity. The greatest resource will always be found in the weeds, from which useful plants must be constantly freed. These must be collected together in heaps, and left to putrefy. The colonists who cultivate coffee, have set the example of this practice; but with that degree of indolence which the heat of the climate occasions in all manual labour. A pile of weeds is heaped up at the bottom of the coffee trees, without regarding whether these weeds, which they do not even take the trouble of covering with earth, heat the tree, and harbour the insects that prey upon it. They have been equally negligent in the management of their cattle.

ALL the domestic quadrupeds of Europe were imported into America by the Spaniards; and it is from their settlements that the colonies of other nations have been supplied. Excepting hogs, which are found to thrive best in countries abounding with aquatic productions, insects and reptiles, and are become larger and better tasted, all these animals

males have degenerated, and the few that remain ~~BOOK~~ in the islands, are very small. Though the badness of the climate may contribute something to this degeneracy, the want of care is, perhaps, the principal cause. They always lie in the open field. They never have either bran or oats given them, and are at grass the whole year. The colonists have not even the attention of dividing the meadows into separate portions, in order to make their cattle to pass from one into the other. They always feed on the same spot, without allowing the grass time to spring up again. Such pastures can only produce weak and watery juices. Too quick a vegetation prevents them from being properly ripened. Hence the animals, destined for the food of man, afford only flesh that is tough and flabby.

Those animals, which are reserved for labour, do but very little service. The oxen draw but light loads, and that not all day long. They are always four in number. They are not yoked by the head, but by the neck, after the Spanish custom. They are not stimulated by the goad, but driven by a whip; and are directed by two drivers.

WHEN the roads do not allow the use of carriages, mules are employed instead of oxen. These are saddled after a simpler method than in Europe, but much inferior to it in strength. A mat is fixed on their back, to which two hooks are suspended on each side, the first that are casually met with in the woods. Thus equipped, they carry, at most,

BOOK half the weight that European horses can bear,
xi. and go over but half the ground in the same time.

THE pace of their horses is not so slow: they have preserved something of the fleetness, fire, and docility of those of Andalusia, from which they derived their pedigree; but their strength is not answerable to their spirit. It is necessary to breed a great number of them, in order to obtain that service from them which might be had from a smaller number in Europe. Three or four of them must be harnassed to very light carriages used by indolent people for making excursions, which they call journeys, but which with us would only be an airing.

THE degeneracy of the animals in the islands might have been prevented, retarded, or diminished, if care had been taken to renew them by a foreign race. Stallions brought from colder or warmer countries, would in some degree have corrected the influence of the climate, feed, and rearing. With the mares of the country they would have produced a new race far superior, as they would have come from a climate different from that into which they were imported.

IT is very extraordinary, that so simple an idea should never have occurred to any of the planters; and that there has been no legislature attentive enough to its interests, to substitute in its settlements the bison to the common ox. Every one who is acquainted with this animal, must recollect that the bison has a softer and brighter skin, a disposition

position less dull and stupid than our bullock, and ~~BOOK~~ a quickness and docility far superior. It is swift XI. in running, and when mounted can supply the place of a horse. It thrives as well in southern countries, as the ox that we employ loves cold or temperate climates. This species is only known in the eastern islands, and in the greater part of Africa. If custom had less influence than it commonly has, even over the wisest governments, they would have been sensible, that this useful animal was singularly well adapted to the great Archipelago of America, and that it would be very easy to export it a very small expence from the Gold Coast, or the coast of Angola.

Two rich planters, one in Barbadoes, the other in St. Domingo, equally struck with the weakness of those animals, which, according to established custom, were employed in drawing and carrying, endeavoured to substitute the camel to them. This experiment, formerly tried without success in Peru by the Spaniards, did not succeed better here, nor was it possible it should. It is well known, that though a native of hot countries, it dreads excessive heat, and can as little thrive as propagate under the burning sky of the torrid zone, as in the temperate ones. It would have been better to have tried the buffalo.

THE buffalo is a very dirty animal, and of a fierce disposition. Its caprices are sudden and frequent. Its skin is firm, light, and almost impenetrable, and its horn serviceable for many purposes.

BOOK poses. Its flesh is black and hard, and disagreeable to the taste and smell. The milk of the female is not so sweet, but much more copious than that of the cow. Reared like the ox, to which it has a striking resemblance, it greatly surpasses it in strength and swiftness. Two buffaloes, yoked to a waggon by means of a ring passed through their nose, will draw as much as four of the stoutest bullocks, and in less than half the time. They owe this double superiority to the advantage of having longer legs, and a more considerable bulk of body, the whole power of which is employed in drawing, because they naturally carry their head and neck low. As this animal is originally a native of the torrid zone, and is larger, stronger and more manageable in proportion to the heat of the country it is in, it cannot ever have been doubted that it would have been of great service in the Caribbean islands and propagate happily there. This is highly probable, especially since the successful experiments that have been made of it at Guiana.

INDOLENCE, and old established customs, which have hindered the propagation of domestic animals, have no less impeded the success of transplanting vegetables. Several kinds of fruit-trees have been successively carried to the islands. Those that have not died, are some wild stocks, whose fruit is neither beautiful nor good. The greatest part have degenerated very fast, because they have been exposed to a very strong vegetation, ever lively, and constantly quickened by the copious dews

dews of the night, and the strong heats of the book day, which are the two grand principles of fertility. Perhaps, an intelligent observer would have known how to profit from these circumstances, and have been able to raise tolerable fruit; but such then are not found in the colonies. If our kitchen herbs have succeeded better; if they are always springing up again, ever green, and ripe; the reason is, that they had not to struggle against the climate, where they were assisted by a moist and clammy earth, which is proper for them; and because they required no trouble. The labour of the slaves is employed in the cultivation of more useful productions.

THE principal labours of these unhappy men are directed towards those objects that are indispensable to the preservation of their wretched existence. Except in the islands that are occupied by the Spaniards, where things are very nearly in the same state as they were at the arrival of the Europeans in the new world, those productions, which were sufficient for the savages, have diminished in proportion as they have destroyed the forests, in order to form plantations. It was necessary to procure other means of subsistence, and most of these that were wanted, have been drawn from the country itself of the new comers.

AFRICA has furnished the islands with a shrub, which grows to the height of four feet, lives four years, and is useful throughout its whole duration. It bears husks, which contain five or six grains of

BOOK of a species of a very wholesome and very nourishing pea. Every part belonging to this shrub is remarkable for some particular virtue. Its blossom is good for a cough ; its leaves when boiled are applied to wounds, and of the ashes of this plant is made a lixivium, which cleanses ulcers and dissipates the external inflammations of the skin. This shrub is called the Angola pea. It flourishes equally in lands naturally barren, and in those whose salts have been exhausted. For this reason, the best managers among the colonists never fail to sow it on all those parts of their estates, which in other hands would remain uncultivated.

THE most valuable present, however, which the islands have received from Africa, is the manioc. Most historians have considered this plant as a native of America. It does not appear on what foundation this opinion is supported, though pretty generally received. But were the truth of it demonstrated, the Caribbee islands would yet stand indebted for the manioc to the Europeans, who imported it thither along with the Africans, who fed upon it. Before our invasions, the intercourse between the continent of America and these isles, was so trifling, that a production of the Terra Firma might be unknown in the Archipelago of the Antilles. It is certain, however, that the savages who offered our first navigators bananas, yams, and potatoes, offered them no manioc ; that the Caribs in Dominica and St. Vincent, had it from us ; that the character of the savages did not

not render them fit to conduct a culture requiring ~~so much~~ so much attention ; that this culture can only be carried on in very open fields, and that in the forests, with which these islands were overgrown, there were no clear and unincumbered spaces of ground above five and twenty toises square. In short, it is beyond a doubt, that the use of the manioc was not known till after the arrival of the negroes, and that from time immemorial it hath constituted the principal food of a great part of Africa.

HOWEVER this may be, the manioc is a plant which is propagated by slips. It is set in furrows that are five or six inches deep, which are filled with the same earth that has been digged out. These furrows are at the distance of two feet, or two feet and a half from each other, according to the nature of the ground. The shrub rises a little above six feet, and its trunk is about the thickness of the arm. In proportion as it grows, the lower leaves fall off, and only a few remain towards the top ; its wood is tender and brittle.

THIS is a delicate plant ; whose cultivation is troublesome ; and the vicinity of all sorts of grass is prejudicial to it. It requires a dry and light soil ; its fruit is at its root, and if this root is shaken by the motion the wind gives to the body of the plant, the fruit is formed but imperfectly. It takes eighteen months before it grows to maturity.

BOOK XI. It is not rendered fit for human food till after it has undergone a tedious preparation. Its first skin must be scraped: it must be washed, rasped and pressed, to extract the aqueous parts which are a slow poison, against which there is no remedy known. The roasting of it causes every noxious particle it might still contain, totally to evaporate. When there appears no more steam, it is taken off the iron plate, on which it was roasted, and suffered to cool. Repeated experiments have shewn, that it was almost as dangerous to eat it hot as to eat it raw.

THE root of the manioc grated, and reduced into little grains by roasting, is called flour of manioc. The paste of manioc is called cassava, which hath been converted into a cake by roasting without moving it. It would be dangerous to eat as much cassava as flour of manioc, because the former is less roasted. Both keep a long time, and are very nourishing, but a little difficult of digestion. Though this food seems at first insipid, there are a great number of white people, who have been born in these islands, who prefer it to the best wheat. All the Spaniards in general use it constantly. The French feed their slaves with it. The other European nations, who have settlements in the islands, are little acquainted with the manioc. It is from North America that these colonies receive their subsistence; so that if by any accident, which may very possibly take place, their connections with this fertile country were interrupted

rupted but for four months, they would be exposed to want to perish by famine. An avidity that hath no bounds, makes the colonists of the islands sensible of this imminent danger. All, at least the greater part, find their advantage in turning the whole industry of their slaves towards those productions which are the objects of commerce. The principal of these are, cocoa, cotton, indigo, and coffee. We shall elsewhere speak of their cultivation, value and destination; and at present consider only the cultivation of sugar, whose produce alone is more important than that of all the other commodities.

THE cane that yields the sugar, is a kind of reed, which commonly rises eight or nine feet, including the leaves growing out of the top of it. Its most ordinary thickness is from two to four inches. It is covered with a hardish rind, which incloses a spungy substance. It is intersected at intervals with joints, that serve as it were to strengthen and support it; but without impeding the circulation of the sap, because these joints are soft and pithy in the inside.

THIS plant hath been cultivated from the earliest antiquity in some countries of Asia and Africa. About the middle of the twelfth century, it became known in Sicily, from whence it passed into the southern provinces of Spain. It was afterwards transplanted into Madeira and the Canaries. From these islands it was brought in the new world, where

BOOK where it succeeded as well as if it had been originally a native of it.

XI. ALL soils are not equally proper for it. Such as are rich and strong, low and marshy, environed with woods, or lately cleared, however large and tall the canes may be, produce only a juice that is aqueous, insipid, of a bad quality, difficult to be boiled, purified and preserved. Canes planted in a ground where they soon meet with soft stone or rock, have but a very short duration, and yield but little sugar. A light, porous, and deep soil, is by nature most favourable to this production.

THE general method of cultivating it, is to prepare a large field, to make at the distance of three feet from one another, furrows eighteen inches long, twelve broad, and six deep; to lay in these, two, and sometimes three slips of about a foot each, taken from the upper part of the cane, and to cover them lightly with earth. From each of the joints in the slips issues a stem, which in time becomes a sugar-cane.

CARE should be taken to clear it constantly from the weeds, which never fail to grow around it. This labour only continues for six months. The canes then are sufficiently thick and near one another to destroy every thing that might be prejudicial to their fertility. They are commonly suffered to grow eighteen months, and are seldom cut at any other time.

FROM the stock of these, issue suckers, which are in their turn cut fifteen months after. This second

second cutting yields only half of the produce of ~~book~~ the first. The planters sometimes make a third cutting, and even a fourth, which are always successively less, however good the soil may be. Nothing, therefore, but want of hands for planting fresh can oblige a planter to expect more than two crops from his cane.

These crops are not made in all the colonies at the same time. In the Danish, Spanish and Dutch settlements, they begin in January and continue till October. This method does not imply any fixed season for the maturity of the sugar cane. The plant, however, like others, must have its progress; and it has been justly observed to be in flower in the months of November and December. It must necessarily follow from the custom these nations have adopted of continuing to gather their crops for ten months without intermission, that they cut some canes which are not ripe enough, and others that are too ripe, and then the fruit has not the requisite qualities. The time of gathering them should be at a fixed season, and probably the months of March and April are the fittest for it; because all the sweet fruits are ripe at that time, while the four ones do not arrive to a state of maturity till the months of July and August.

The English cut their canes in March and April; but they are not induced to do this on account of their ripeness. The drought that prevails in their islands renders the rains which fall in September necessary to their planting; and as the

Two months are eighteen months in growing, this period xi. always brings them to the precise point of maturity.

In order to extract the juice of the canes, when cut, which ought to be done in four and twenty hours, otherwise it would turn sour, they are passed between two cylinders of iron, or copper, placed perpendicularly on an immoveable table. The motion of the cylinders is regulated by an horizontal wheel turned by oxen, or horses; but in water-mills this horizontal wheel derives its movement from a perpendicular one, whose circumference meeting a current of water, receives an impression which turns it upon its axis: this motion is from right to left, if the current of water strikes the upper part of the wheel; from left to right, if the current strikes the lower part.

From the reservoir, where the juice of the cane is received, it falls into a boiler where those particles of water are made to evaporate that are most easily separated. This liquor is poured into another boiler, where a moderate fire makes it throw up its first scum. When it has lost its clammy consistence it is made to run into a third boiler, where it throws up much more scum by means of an increased degree of heat. It then receives the last boiling in a fourth cauldron whose fire is three times stronger than the first.

This last fire determines the success of the process. If it hath been well managed, the sugar forms crystals that are larger or smaller, more or less

less bright, in proportion to the greater or less book quantity of oil they abound with. If the fire hath been too violent, the substance is reduced to a black and charcoal extract which cannot produce any more essential salt. If the fire hath been too moderate, there remains a considerable quantity of extraneous oils, which distinguish the sugar, and render it thick and blackish; so that when it is to be dried, it becomes always porous, because the spaces which these oils filled up, remain empty.

As soon as the sugar is cool, it is poured into earthen vessels of a conic figure; the base of the cone is open, and its top has a hole, through which the water is carried off that has not formed any crystals. This is called the syrup. After this water hath flowed through, the raw sugar remains, which is rich, brown and salt.

THE greatest part of the islands leave to the Europeans the care of giving sugar the other preparations which are necessary to make it fit for use. This practice spares the expence of large buildings, leaves them more negroes to employ in agriculture, allows them to make their cultures without any interruption for two or three months together, and employs a greater number of ships for exportation.

THE French planters alone have thought it their interest to manage their sugars in a different manner. To whatever degree of exactness the juice of the sugar-cane may be boiled, there always re-

BOOK mains an infinite number of foreign particles attached to the salts of the sugar, to which they appear to be what lees are to wine. These give it a dead colour, and the taste of tartar, of which they endeavour to deprive it, by an operation called earthing. This consists in putting again the raw sugars into a new earthen vessel, in every respect similar to that we have mentioned. The surface of the sugar, throughout the whole extent of the basis of the cone, is then covered with a white marl, on which water is poured. In filtering it through this marl, the water carries with it a portion of a calcareous earth, which it finds upon the different saline particles, when this earth meets with oily substances to which it is united. This water is afterwards drained off through the opening at the top of the mould, and a second syrup is procured, which they call molasses, and which is so much the worse, in proportion as the sugar was finer; that is, contained less extraneous oil: for then the calcareous earth, dissolved by the water, passes alone, and carries with it all its acrid particles.

THIS earthing is followed by the last preparation, which is effected by fire, and serves for the evaporating of the moisture with which the salts are impregnated, during the process of earthing. In order to do this, the sugar is taken in its whole form out of the conical vessel of earth, and conveyed into a stove which receives from an iron furnace a gentle and gradual heat, where it is left till

till the sugar is become very dry, which commonly happens at the end of three weeks.

XI.

THOUGH the expence which this process requires, is in general useless, since the earthed sugar is commonly refined in Europe in the same manner as the raw sugar; all the inhabitants of the French islands, however, who are able to purify their sugars in this manner, generally take this trouble. To a nation whose navy is weak, this method is extremely advantageous, as it enables it in times of war, to convey into its own mother country the most valuable cargoes with a less number of ships than if only raw sugars were prepared.

ONE may judge from these species of sugars, but much better from that, which has undergone the earthing, of what sort of salts it is composed. If the soil, where the cane hath been planted, is hard, stony and sloping, the salts will be white, angular, and the grain very large. If the soil is marly, the colour will be the same; but the granulations, being cut on fewer sides, will reflect less light. If the soil is rich and spungy, the granulations will be nearly spherical, the colour will be dusky, the sugar will slip under the finger, without any unequal feel. This last kind of sugar is considered as the worst.

WHATEVER may be the reason, those places that have a northern aspect produce the best sugar; and marly grounds yield the greatest quantity. The preparations which the sugar that grows in

BOOK these kinds of soil require, are less tedious and
XI. troublesome than those which the sugar requires
' that is produced in a rich land. But these obser-
vations admit of infinite variety, whose investiga-
tion is properly the province of chymists, or
speculative planters.

BESIDES sugar, the cane furnishes syrup, whose
value is only a twelfth of that of the price of
sugars. The best syrup is that which runs from
the first vessel into the second, when the raw sugar
is made. It is composed of the grosser particles
which carry along with them the salts of sugar,
whether it contains or separates them in its passage.
The syrup of an inferior kind, which is more
bitter, and less in quantity, is formed by the water
which carries off the tartareous and earthy particles
of the sugar when it is washed. By means of fire,
some sugar is besides extracted from the first syrup,
which, after this operation, is of less value than
the second.

BOTH these kinds are carried into the north of
Europe, where the people use them instead of
butter and sugar. In North America they make
the same use of them, where they are further em-
ployed to give fermentation and an agreeable taste
to a liquor called *Pruss*, which is only an infusion
of the bark of a tree.

THIS syrup is still more useful, by the secret
that has been discovered of converting it by distil-
lation, into a spirituous liquor which the English
call *Rum*, and the French *Tafia*. This process,
which

which is very simple, is made by mixing a ~~one~~ ^{two} ~~one~~ third part of syrup with two-thirds of water. xi When these two substances have sufficiently fermented, which commonly happens at the end of twelve or fifteen days, they are put into a clean still, where the distillation is made as usual. The liquor that is drawn off is equal to the quantity of the syrup employed.

Such is the method which, after many experiments and variations, all the islands have generally pursued in the cultivation of sugar. It is undoubtedly a good one; but, perhaps, it hath not acquired that degree of perfection of which it is capable. If instead of planting canes in large fields, the ground were parcelled out into divisions of sixty feet, leaving between two planted divisions a space of land uncultivated, such a method would probably be attended with great advantages. In the modern practice, none but the canes which grow on the borders are good, and attain to a proper degree of maturity. Those in the middle of the field in part miscarry, and ripen badly, because they are deprived of a current of air, which only acts by its weight, and seldom gets to the foot of these canes that are always covered with the leaves.

In this new system of plantation, those portions of land which had not been cultivated would be most favourable for reproduction; when the crops of the planted divisions had been made, which in their turn would be left to recover. It is

BOOK probable that by this method as much sugar
 xi. might be obtained as by the present practice; with
 'this additional advantage, that it would require
 fewer slaves to cultivate it. One may judge what
 the cultivation of sugar would then produce, by
 what it now yields notwithstanding its imperfec-
 tions.

ON a plantation fixed on a good ground, and
 sufficiently stocked with blacks, with cattle, and
 all other necessaries, two men will cultivate a square
 of canes, that is, a hundred geometrical paces in
 every direction. This square must yield on an
 average sixty quintals of raw sugar. The common
 price of a quintal in Europe will be twenty livres*,
 after deducting all the expences. This makes an in-
 come of 600 livres†, for the labour of each man.
 One hundred and fifty livres‡, to which the price
 of syrup and Rum must be added, will defray the
 expences of cultivation; that is to say, for the
 maintenance of slaves, for their loss, their disor-
 ders, their clothes, and repairing their utensils,
 and other accidents. The net produce of an acre
 and half of land will then be four hundred and
 fifty livres§. It would be difficult to find a cul-
 ture productive of greater emoluments.

IT may be objected, that this is stating the pro-
 duce below its real value, because a square of canes
 does not employ two men. But those who would
 urge such an objection ought to observe, that the
 making of sugar requires other labours beside those
 of

* 17s. 6d. † 26l. 5s. ‡ 6l. 11s. 3d. § 19l. 13s. 9d.

of merely cultivating it,¹ and consequently work- ^{BOOK} men employed elsewhere than in the fields. The ^{XI.} estimate and compensation of these different kinds of service, oblige us to deduct from the produce of a square of plantation, the expence of maintaining two men.

IT is chiefly from the produce of sugar that the islands supply their planters with all the articles of convenience and luxury. They draw from Europe flour, liquors, salt provisions, silks, linens, hardware; and every thing that is necessary for apparel, food, furniture, ornament, convenience and even luxury. Their consumptions of every kind are prodigious, and must necessarily influence the manners of the inhabitants, the greatest part of whom are rich enough to support them.

It should seem that the Europeans, who have been transplanted into the American islands, must no less have degenerated than the animals which they carried over thither. The climate acts on all living beings; but men being less immediately subject to the laws of nature, resist her influence the more, because they are the only beings, who act for themselves. The first colonists, who settled in the Antilles, corrected the activity of a new climate, and a new soil, by the conveniences which it was in their power to derive from a commerce that was always open with their former country. They learnt to lodge and maintain themselves in a manner the best adapted to their change of situation. They retained the customs of <sup>Character
of the Eu-
ropeans
settled in
the Amer-
ican is-
lands.</sup> their

sook their education, and every thing that could agree
xi. with the natural effects of the air they breathed.

'With these they carried into America the food and customs of Europe, and familiarised to each other beings and productions which nature had separated by an interval of the same extent as a Zone. But of all the primitive customs, the most salutary, perhaps, was that of mingling and dividing the two races by intermarriages.

ALL nations, even the least civilized, have proscribed an union of sexes between the children of the same family; whether it was, that experience or prejudice dictated this law, or chance led them to it. Beings brought up together in infancy, accustomed to see one another continually, in this mutual familiarity, rather contract that indifference which arises from habit, than that lively and impetuous sensation of sympathy, which suddenly affects two beings, who never saw one another. If in the savage life hunger disunites families, love undoubtedly must have reunited them. The history, whether true or fabulous, of the rape of the Sabinæ women, shews that marriage was the first alliance between nations. Thus the blood will have become gradually intermixed either by the casual meetings occasioned by a wandering life, or by the conventions and agreements of settled communities. The natural advantage of crossing the breed among men as well as animals, in order to preserve the species from degenerating, is the result of slow experience, and is posterior to the acknowledged utility

utility of uniting families, in order to cement the ~~book~~ peace of society. Tyrants soon discovered how far it was proper for them to separate, or connect their subjects, in order to keep them in a state of dependence. They formed men into separate ranks by availing themselves of their prejudices: because this line of division between them became a bond of submission to the sovereign, who maintained his authority by their mutual hatred and opposition. They connected families to each other in every station, because this union totally extinguished every spark of dissention repugnant to the spirit of civil society. Thus the intermixture of pedigrees and families by marriage, has been rather the result of political institutions, than formed upon the views of nature.

BUT whatever be the natural principle and moral tendency of this custom, it was adopted by Europeans, who were desirous of multiplying in the islands. The greatest part of them either married in their own country, before they removed into the new world, or with those who landed there. The European married a Creole, or the Creole an European, whom chance or family connections brought into America. From this happy association hath been formed a peculiar character, which in the two worlds distinguishes the man born under the sky of the new, from parents originally natives of both. The marks of this character will be pointed out with so much the more certainty, as they are taken from the writings

BOOKS of an accurate observer, from whom we have
xi. already drawn some particulars respecting natural
history.

THE Creoles are in general well made. There is scarce a single person among them afflicted with those deformities which are so common in other climates. They have all an extreme suppleness in their limbs ; whether it is to be attributed to a particular organization adapted to hot countries, to the custom of their being reared without the confinement of swaddling cloaths, and stays, or to the exercises they are habituated to from their infancy. Their complexion, however, never has that air of vivacity and freshness which contributes more to beauty than regular features do. As to their colour, when they are in health, it resembles that of persons just recovering from a fit of illness ; but this livid complexion, more or less dark, is nearly that of our southern people.

THEIR intrepidity in war has been signalized by a series of bold actions. There would be no better soldiers, if they were more capable of being disciplined.

HISTORY does not afford any of those instances of cowardice, treachery and meanness among them, which fully the annals of all nations. It can hardly be alledged, that a Creole ever did a mean action.

ALL strangers, without exception, find in the islands, the most friendly and generous hospitality. This useful virtue is practised with a degree of often-

Ostentation, which shews, at least; the honour they ~~BOOK~~ attach to it. Their natural propensity to beneficence banishes avarice ; and the Creoles are generous in their dealings.

THEY are strangers to dissimulation, craft and suspicion. The pride they take in their frankness, the opinion they have of themselves, together with their extreme vivacity, exclude from their commercial transactions all that mystery and reserve, which stifles natural goodness of disposition, extinguishes the social spirit and diminishes our sensibility.

A warm imagination, incapable of any restraint, renders them independent and inconstant in their taste. It perpetually hurries them with fresh ardour into pleasures, to which they sacrifice both their fortune and their whole existence.

A remarkable degree of penetration, a quick facility in seizing all ideas, and expressing themselves with vivacity ; the power of combining added to the talent of observation, a happy mixture of all the qualities of the mind and of the heart which render men capable of the greatest actions, will make them attempt every thing, when oppression compels them to it.

The sharp and saline air of the Caribbee islands deprives the women of that lively colour which is the beauty of their sex. But they have an agreeable and fair complexion, which does not deprive the eyes of all that vivacity and power, that enables them to convey into the soul such strong impressions

BOOK pressions as are irresistible. As they are extremely sober, they drink nothing but chocolate, coffee and such spirituous liquors as restore to the organs their tone and vigour enervated by the climate; while the men are continually drinking in proportion to the heat that exhausts them.

THEY are very prolific, and often mothers of ten or twelve children. This fertility arises from love which strongly attaches them to their husbands; but which also throws them instantly into the arms of another, whenever death has dissolved the union of a first or second marriage.

JEALOUS even to distraction, they are seldom unfaithful. That indolence, which makes them neglect the means of pleasing, the taste which the men have for negro women, their particular manner of life, whether private or public, which precludes the opportunities or temptations to gallantry; these are the best supports of the virtue of these females.

THE solitary kind of manner in which they live in their houses gives them an air of extreme timidity, which embarrasses them in their intercourse with the world. They lose, even in early life, the spirit of emulation and choice, and this prevents them from cultivating the agreeable talents of education. They seem to have neither power nor taste for any thing but dancing, which undoubtedly transports and animates them to higher pleasures. This instinct of pleasure attends them through their whole life; whether it is, that they still

still retain some share of their youthful sensibility, BOOK or are stimulated with the recollection of it; or XI. from other reasons which are unknown to us.

From such a constitution arises an extremely sensible and sympathizing character, so that they cannot even bear the sight of misery; though they are, at the same time, rigid and severe with respect to the offices they require of those domestics that are attached to their service. More despotic and inexorable towards their slaves than the men themselves, they feel no remorse in ordering chastisements, the severity of which would be a punishment and a lesson to them, if they were obliged to inflict them themselves, or were witnesses to them.

THIS slavery of the negroes is, perhaps, the cause from whence the Creoles in part derive a certain character, which makes them appear strange, fantastic, and of an intercourse not much relished in Europe. From their earliest infancy they are accustomed to see a number of tall and stout men about them, whose business it is to conjecture and anticipate their wishes. This first view must immediately inspire them with the most extravagant opinion of themselves. Seldom meeting with any opposition to their caprice, though ever so unreasonable, they assume a spirit of presumption, tyranny and disdain for a great part of mankind. Nothing is more insolent than the man who always lives with his inferiors; but when these happen to be slaves, habituated to wait upon children,

BOOK dren, to dread even their cries, which must expose
xi. them to punishment; what must masters become
who have never obeyed; wicked men who have
never been punished; and madmen who are used
to put their fellow-creatures in irons?

So cruel an example of dependence gives the Americans that pride which must necessarily be detested in Europe, where a greater equality prevailing among men teaches them a greater share of mutual respect. Educated without knowing either pain or labour, they are neither able to surmount difficulties, or bear contradiction. Nature hath given them every advantage, and fortune refused them nothing. In this respect, like most kings, they are unhappy, because they have never experienced adversity. If the climate did not strongly excite them to love, they would be ignorant of every real pleasure of the soul: and yet they seldom have the happiness of forming an idea of those passions, which thwarted by obstacles and refusals, are nourished with tears and gratified with virtue. If they were not confined by the laws of Europe, which govern them by their wants, and repress or restrain the extraordinary degree of independence they enjoy, they would fall into a softness and effeminacy which would in time render them the victims of their own tyranny, or would involve them in a state of anarchy that would subvert all the foundations of their community.

BUT if they once ceased to have negroes for slaves, and kings who live at a distance from them

for masters, they, perhaps, would become the ~~book~~ most astonishing people that ever appeared on earth. The spirit of liberty which they would imbibe from their earliest infancy ; the understanding and abilities which they would inherit from Europe ; the activity, which the necessity of repelling numerous enemies would inspire ; the large colonies they would have to form ; the rich commerce they would have to found on an immense cultivation ; the ranks and societies they would have to create ; and the maxims, laws and manners they would have to establish on the principles of reason : all these springs of action would, perhaps, make of an equivocal and miscellaneous race of people, the most flourishing nation that philosophy and humanity could wish for the happiness of the world.

If ever any fortunate revolution should take place in the world, it will begin in America. After having experienced such devestation, this new world must flourish in its turn, and, perhaps, command the old. It will become the asylum of our people who have been oppressed by political establishments, or driven away by war. The savage inhabitants will be civilized, and oppressed strangers will become free. But it is necessary that this change should be preceded by conspiracies, commotions, and calamities ; and that a hard and laborious education should predispose their minds both to act and to suffer.

BOOK Ye young Creoles, come into Europe to exercise and practise what we teach you ; there to collect in the valuable remains of our ancient manners, that vigour which we have lost ; there to study our weakness, and draw from our follies themselves those lessons of wisdom which produce great events. Leave in America your negroes, whose condition distresses us, and whose blood, perhaps, is mingled in all those ferments which alter, corrupt and destroy our population. Fly from an education of tyranny, effeminacy, and vice, which you contract from the habit of living with slaves, whose degraded station inspires you with none of those elevated and virtuous sentiments which can only give rise to a people that will become celebrated. America hath poured all the sources of corruption on Europe. To complete its vengeance, it must draw from it all the instruments of its prosperity. As it has been destroyed by our crimes, it must be renewed by our vices.

NATURE seems to have destined the Americans to a greater share of happiness than the inhabitants of Europe. In the islands, such diseases as the gout, gravel, stone, apoplexies, pleurisies, complaints of the chest, and the various disorders occasioned by the winter, are scarcely known. None of those scourges of the human race which are so fatal in other countries, have ever made the least ravages there. If the air of the country can be withstood and the middle age be attained to, this

is sufficient to insure a long and happy life. There book old age is not weak, languishing and beset with those infirmities which affect it in our climate.

IN the Caribbee islands, however, new-born infants are attacked with a disease which seems peculiar to the torrid zone: it is called *tetanos*. If a child receives the impression of the air or wind, if the room where it is just born is exposed to smoke, to too much heat or cold, the disorder shews itself immediately. It first seizes the jaw, which becomes rigid and fixed, so as not to be opened. This spasm soon communicates itself to the other parts of the body; and the child dies for want of being able to take nourishment. If it escapes this danger, which threatens the nine first days of its existence, it has nothing to fear. The indulgences which are allowed to children before they are weaned, which is at the end of the twelve months, such as the use of coffee, chocolate, wine, but especially sugar and sweetmeats; these indulgences that are so pernicious to our children, are offered to those of America by nature, which accustoms them in early age to the productions of their climate.

THE fair sex, naturally weak and delicate, has its infirmities as well as its charms. In the islands they are subject to a weakness, an almost total decay of their strength; an unconquerable aversion for all kind of wholesome food, and an irregular craving after every thing that is prejudicial to their health. Salt or spiced food is what they only relish

Diseases to
which the
Europeans
are subject
in the
islands.

BOOK and desire. This disease is a true cachexy, which xi. commonly degenerates into a dropsy. It is attributed to the diminution of the menses in those women who come from Europe, and to the weakness or total suppression of that periodical discharge in Creoles.

THE men, more robust, are liable to more violent complaints. In this vicinity of the equator, they are exposed to a hot and malignant fever, known under different names, and indicated by hæmorrhages. The blood which is boiling under the fervent rays of the sun, is discharged from the nose, eyes, and other parts of the body: nature in temperate climates does not move with such rapidity, but that in the most acute disorders there is time to observe and follow the course she takes. In the islands, her progress is so rapid, that if we delay to attack the disorder, as soon as it appears, its effects are certainly fatal. Thus it is, that the patient, in the space of twenty-four hours must be bled fifteen or eighteen times, while in the intervals he has recourse to other remedies. No sooner is a person seized with sickness, but the physician, the lawyer, and the priest, are all called to his bed-side.

Most of those who survive these violent shocks, being exhausted by the manner in which they have been treated, recover very slowly and with difficulty. Several fall into an habitual weakness, occasioned by the debility of the whole machine, whom the noxious air of the country and the little nourish-

nourishment their food supplies, are not able to ~~book~~ restore. Hence obstructions, jaundice, and swellings of the spleen, are produced, which sometimes terminate in dropsies. xi.

ALMOST all the Europeans who go over to America, are exposed to this danger, and frequently the Creoles themselves on their return from more temperate climates. But it never attacks women whose blood has the natural evacuations, and negroes, who, born under a hotter climate, are inured by nature, and prepared by free perspiration, for all the ferments that the sun can produce.

THESE violent fevers are certainly owing to the heat of the sun, whose rays are less oblique, and more constant than in our climates. This heat must undoubtedly thicken the blood through the excess of perspiration, a want of elasticity in the solids, and a dilatation of the vessels by the impulse of the fluids, whether in proportion to the rarefaction of the air, or the less degree of compression which the surface of the bodies is exposed to in a rarefied atmosphere.

SOME of these inconveniences might, perhaps, be prevented, if persons going to America were purged and bled in their passage as they advanced toward the torrid zone; by repeating these precautions in the islands, and by the use of the cold bath.

BUT far from having recourse to these expedients, which reason indicates, the inhabitants fall into such excesses as are most likely to hasten and increase the disorder. The strangers who arrive

BOOK rive at the Carribbee islands, are excited by the
xi. entertainments they are invited to, the pleasures
they partake of, and the kind reception they meet
with; every thing induces them to an immoderate
indulgence of all the pleasures which custom ren-
ders less prejudicial to those who are born under
this climate. Feasting, dancing, gaming, late
hours, wine, cordials and frequently the chagrin
of disappointment in their chimerical expectations,
conspire to add to the ferment of an immoderate
heat of the blood, which soon becomes inflamed.

WITH such indulgence, it is scarce possible to
resist the heats of this climate, when even the
greatest precautions are not sufficient to secure per-
sons from the attack of those dangerous fevers;
when the most sober and moderate men, who
are the most averse from every kind of excess;
and the most careful of all their actions, are vic-
tims to the new air they breathe. In the present
state of the colonies, of ten men that go into the
islands, four English die, three French, three
Dutch, three Danes, and one Spaniard.

WHEN it was observed how many men were lost
in these regions, at the time they were first occu-
pied, it was generally thought, that the states who
had the ambition of settling there would be depo-
pulated in the end.

EXPERIENCE hath altered the public opinion
upon this point. In proportion as these colonies
have extended their plantations, they have been
supplied with fresh means of expence. These
have

Advan-
tages of
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are in pos-
session of
the islands.

have opened into their mother country new sources ~~B O O K~~ of consumption. The increase in exportations ~~XI.~~ could not take place without an increase of labour. These labours have brought together a greater number of men, which will ever be the case when the means of subsistence are multiplied. Even foreigners have resorted in great multitudes to those kingdoms, which opened a vast field to their ambition and industry.

POPULATION not only increased among the proprietors of the islands, but the people have also become more happy. Our felicity in general is proportioned to our conveniences, and it must increase as we can vary and extend them. The islands have been productive of this advantage to their possessors. They have drawn from these fertile regions a number of commodities, the consumption of which hath added to their enjoyments. They have acquired some, which when exchanged for others among their neighbours, have made them partake of the luxuries of other climates. In this manner, the kingdoms which have acquired the possession of the islands, by fortunate circumstances, or by well combined projects, are become the residence of the arts, and of all the polite amusements which are a natural and necessary consequence of great plenty.

BUT this is not the only advantage: these colonies have raised the nations that founded them, to a superiority of influence in the political world, by the following means: Gold and silver, which form

BOOK form the general circulation of Europe, come from
xi. Mexico, Peru, and Brazil. They belong neither
to the Spaniards nor the Portuguese, but to
people, who give their merchandise in exchange
for these metals. These people have commercial
transactions with each other, that are ultimately
settled at Lisbon and Cadiz, which may be looked
upon as a common and universal repository. It is
in these places that one must judge of the increase
or decline of the trade of each nation. That
nation whose accounts of sale and purchase are
kept in balance with the rest, receive the whole
interest of its capital. That which hath purchased
more than it hath sold, withdraws less than its in-
terest; because it hath ceded a part of it, in order
to satisfy the demands of the nation to which it
was indebted. That which has sold more to other
nations than it hath purchased of them, does not
only get what was owing from Spain and Portugal,
but also the profit it has derived from other nations
with whom it hath made exchanges. This last ad-
vantage is peculiar to the people who possess the
islands. Their capital is annually increased by the
sale of the valuable productions of these countries;
and the augmentation of their stock confirms their
superiority, and renders them the arbiters of peace
and war. But we shall explain, in the following
Books, how far each nation hath increased its power
by the possession of the islands.



END OF THE EIGHTH Book.

END OF THE EIGHTH VOLUME.

